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The Shakespeare Association Bulletin



Annual Bibliography of Shaksperiana for 1937

The Tyger's Heart Wrapt in a Player's Hide

Shakspeare and the Puritans

Ben Jonson, Patriarch of Speech Study

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THE SHAKESPEARE ASSOCIATION BULLETIN

SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM, *Editor*

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Other matters relating to the work of the Association should be referred to the Secretary.

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SHAKSPERE AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

(A Classified Bibliography for 1937)

Compiled by

SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM

The following bibliography, based on an examination of the contents of more than 1,400 periodicals and hundreds of books, is a continuation of that published in this BULLETIN in January, 1937. Perfunctory notices of books, blurbs, and reviews which contribute nothing new, have not been noted. The names of female writers are distinguished by a colon (instead of a period) after the initial letter of the baptismal name. The titles of books and pamphlets are printed in italics. If no year is mentioned in connection with an item, '1937' is to be understood. Reviews of books are listed (without a preceding number), without title, immediately after the books themselves. The discussion of a book is indicated by printing the title within single quotes. The abbreviations employed herein, and what they stand for, follow herewith:

A	—Anglia	Ln	—London.
Abstr.	—Abstract	M	—Magazine
Amer.	—American	MLN	—Modern Language Notes
Archiv	—Archiv f. d. Studium d. neueren Sprachen	MLR	—Modern Language Review
B	—Bulletin	Mo	—Monthly
bib.	—bibliography	MP	—Modern Philology
BJRL	—Bulletin of the John Rylands Library	NQ	—Notes and Queries
Cambr.	—Cambridge	OUP	—Oxford University Press
comp.	—compiler	P	—Press
Col.	—Columbia	PMLA	—Publications of the Modern Language Ass'n.
CR	—Contemporary Review	port	—portrait
CUP	—Cambridge University Press	PQ	—Philological Quarterly
Diss.	—Dissertation	Q	—Quarterly
dt.	—deutsch, deutscher, etc.	R	—Review, Revue
ed., edd.	—editor, editors	RES	—Review of English Studies
ELH	—Journal of English Literary History	SAB	—Shakespeare Ass'n Bulletin
Eliz'n	—Elizabethan	SAH	—Stratford Herald
Engl.	—English, Englische	Sat.	—Saturday
facs., facss.	—facsimile, facsimiles	Sh	—Shakespeare, Shakspeare
f	—für	Shn	—Shaksperian
fr	—from	SJ	—Shakespeare Jahrbuch
GRM	—Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift	SP	—Studies in Philology
HUP	—Harvard University Press	RCC	—Revue des Cours et Conférences
ils, illusts.	—illustrated, illustrations	TAM	—Theatre Arts Monthly
J	—Journal	TLS	—Times Literary Supplement (Ln)
JEGP	—Journal of English and Germanic Philology	tr.	—translator
Libr	—Library	Tr	—Transactions
Lit	—Literature	u.	—und
		U	—University
		UP	—University Press
		Xn	—Christian

A name and title-index will be published in the April issue of the BULLETIN. The compiler's best thanks are due to the publishers, libraries, and personal friends who have assisted him in one way or another in making this compilation. Among the last he is especially indebted to his devoted friend William B. Kempling.

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10034. The chronology of T. M.'s plays.—R. C. Bald.—*MLR*, 32: 33-43, Jan.
- 10034a. *The Ghost of Lucrece*. [*With an introd'n & edited text*].—J. Q. Adams, ed.—N. Y.: C. Scribner's Sons (for Trustees of Amherst College), pp. xxxiv + facs + 44; \$4.
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10043. A wreath for Sh [*poem*].—T. Walsh.—*SAB*, 12: 68, Apr.
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10047. Mr. Kaplan and Sh.—L. Q. Ross.—*New Yorker*, 13: 22-24, Mar. 27.
10048. Sh scholars at work.—*TLS*, pp. 334-35 (May 1).
10049. Some notes on R. Frost and Sh.—R. S. Newdick.—*SAB*, 12: 187-89, July.
10050. Sh playing cards (52).—F. C. Tilney, designer.—*Ln*, 10s. 6d. (With a note on the designs, by F. C. T.).
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10036. Sh in Philadelphia.—H. N. Paul.—*Proc. of Amer. Philosoph. Soc.* (1936), 76: 719-30.
10037. Sh our contemporary.—F. E. Schelling.—In *Sh Biography* (Phila., 1937), pp. 49-57.
10038. *With Golden Quill*. [A dramatized 'life' of Sh.].—E. H. Grunor; W. Jaggard.—Stratford-on-Avon: The Sh Press, 1936, 7s. 6d.—*TLS*, Jan. 12, p. 62.
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10060. M. & la loi de l'opposition de la réaction à l'action.—H. Forestier.—*Hu-*

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10086. *La Comtesse de Rousillon*.—E. Legouis.—English (no. 5), 1: 399-404.
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10088. Garrick's presentation of *A & C*.—G. W. Stone, Jr.—*RES*, 13: 20-38, Jan.
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10090. *Cleopatra: The Story of a Queen*.—E. Ludwig. (B. Miall, tr.).—N. Y.: The Viking P, pp. 342, \$3.50.—R. L. Duffus; N. Y. Times Book R, Dec. 5, p. 9.—TLS, Dec. 11, p. 940.
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10101. An emendation of III, iii, 7.—T. M. Parrott.—SAB, 12: 49-53, Jan.
10102. An unnecessary emendation of III, iii, 7.—S. A. Tannenbaum.—SAB, 12: 64-66, Jan.
10103. The date of *H*.—P. Allen.—TLS, Jan. 2, p. 12.
10104. *H* problems.—H. D. Gray.—TLS, Jan. 9, p. 28.
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10106. *Prefaces to Sh (Series 3): 'H.'*—H. Granville-Barker.—Ln: Sidgwick & Jackson, pp. x, 330; 10s. 6d.—TLS, Jan. 9, p. 25.—W. Keller; SJ, 73: 163-65.
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10108. Hamlet's melancholy.—J. W. Draper.—*Annals of Medical History*, 9: 142-47, Mar.
10109. Christian name 'Hamnet'.—St. C. B.—NQ, 172: 11, Jan. 2.

10110. J. D. Wilson's *What Happens in 'H.'*—T. M. Parrott; MLN, 52: 382-86, May.
10111. Bemerkungen zu G. Hauptmanns *Hamlet in Wittenberg*.—A. J. Prahl.—Monatsh. f. dt. Unterricht, 29: 153-57, Apr.
10112. The prince-philosopher and Sh's Hamlet.—J. W. Draper.—W. Va. Univ'y B, May, pp. 39-43.
10113. The G. Hauptmann *H.*—F. B. Wahr.—PQ, 16: 124-38, Apr.
10114. Hamlet lived at Elsinore.—B. Robertson.—Travel, 68: 15-17, Mar., ils.
10115. Passion's slave.—R. Mortimer.—New Statesman, 13: 82-83, Jan. 16.
10116. Rejected Q2 readings in the 'new S' *H.*—T. Pyles.—ELH, 4: 114-46, June.
10117. The fencing match in *H.*—A. A. Gay.—RES, 13: 326-29, July.
10118. Granville-Barker's book on *H.*—R. M. Smith.—SAB, 12: 168-72, July.
10119. Mr. Granville-Barker and *H.*—R. W. Babcock.—SAB, 12: 173-79, July.
10120. *The Meaning of 'H.'*—L. L. Schücking (G. Rawson, tr.).—N. Y.: OUP, pp. xii, 196, \$2.25.
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10122. Read 'ring . . . Wringing' in I, iii, 108-09.—I. Scott.—TLS, Sept. 4, p. 640.
10123. Mounet-Sully as Hamlet [*il.*].—TAM, 21: 732, Sept.
10124. *H* at the Old Vic.—A. Dukes.—TAM, 21: 189-93, Mar., 2 ils.
10125. A: Nielsen as Hamlet in a German film [port].—TAM, 21: 197, Mar.
10126. The dumb-show in *H.*—F. G. Palmer.—N. Y. Times, Oct. 17, p. 2x.
10127. A. S. Cairncross's *The Problem of 'H.'*—M. Priess.—Engl Studien, 71: 402-07, June.
10128. G. Hauptmann and Hamlet.—S. D. Stirk.—German Life & Letters, 1: 125-29, Jan.
10129. *Hamlets Flucht in d. Tod: Das Hamlet-Problem neu dargestellt u. gedeutet*.—R. Flatter.—Wien: Reichner, pp. 90; RM 1.50.
10130. *H* at Elsinore.—T. Guthrie; Ln Mercury, 36: 246-49 (July).—I. Brown; TAM, 21: 873-80 (Nov.).
10131. The king's 'Switzers'.—J. W. Draper.—MLR, 32: 585-88, Oct.
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10133. A note on G. Hauptmann's *Hamlet in Wittenberg*.—S. D. Stirk.—MLR, 32: 595-97, Oct.
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10135. An interpretation of *H.*—F. Adler.—The Standard, 23: 91-96, Jan.
10136. *J. Gielgud's Hamlet*.—R. Gilder.—N. Y.: OUP, pp. 234, ils, \$3.
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10139. The date of *H.*—L. Kirschbaum.—SP, 34: 168-75, Apr.
10140. Is the problem of Hamlet's insanity solved?—O. Hinrichsen.—Psychiatr.-Neurol.-Wochenschrift, 39: 36-40, Jan. 16.
10141. There are more things, Horatio.—A. A. Raven.—SAB, 12: 236-45, Oct.
10142. The first quarto pirate.—H. D. Gray.—PQ, 16: 394-401, Oct.
10143. Amleth's shield: a comment on the pictorial elements of the Hamlet story.—J. G. Wales.—Tr. Wisconsin Acad. of Sciences, Arts & Letters, 30: 303-12.
10144. Zum Problem d. *H.*—E. Weigelin.—SJ, 73: 131-38.

10145. J. D. Wilson's *The MS. of Sh's 'H'*.—M. Deutschbein; SJ, 73; 172-75.
10146. *H* at Kronborg.—E. Merrild.—Amer'n Scandinavian R, 25: 351-53, Dec., 3 ils.
10147. *Das H-Problem*.—M. Priess.—Studien, 72: 14-48, Oct.
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10148. 'To repent in sack' (2 H4, I, ii, 222).—M. P. Tilley.—SAB, 12: 55-56, Jan.
10149. The variorum 1 H4.—S. A. T.—SAB, 12: 62-63, Jan.—TLS, p. 236 (Mar. 27).
10150. An early 18th-century note on Falstaff.—R. W. Babcock.—PQ, 16: 84-85, Jan.
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10152. The new variorum ed'n of 1 H4. S. C. Chew; N. Y. Herald-Tribune Books, Mar. 28, p. 2x.—W. Keller; SJ, 73: 150-51.
10153. Falstaff & Cobham.—E. G. Clark.—A Christmas Book for the Dep't of English (N. Y., Hunter College), pp. 49-59.
10154. Sh's H4 u. d. Geschichtsdrama in England.—R. Petsch.—SJ, 73: 109-30.
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Henry V (H5)

10155. A pun in H5?—A. F. Pollard.—TLS, p. 256 (Apr. 3).

Henry VI (H6)

10156. A note on the 'bad quartos' of 2 and 3 H6 and the Folio text.—R. B. McKerrow.—RES, 13: 64-72, Jan.
10157. The sources of 1 H6 as an indication of revision.—C. F. Denny.—PQ, 16: 225-48, July.

10158. Shn alarum.—W. S. Knickerbocker.—Sewanee R, 45: 91-105, Jan.
10159. Shn excursion: Who wrote 2 & 3 H6?—W. S. Knickerbocker.—Sewanee R, 45: 328-42, July.
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10160. The personality of Henry VIII.—C. W. C. Oman.—Quarterly R, 269: 88-04, July.

Julius Caesar

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10161. *JC* and T. Elyot's *Governour*.—D. Bush.—MLN, 52: 407-08, June.
10162. Caesar's friends & enemies among the poets.—J. W. Spaeth, Jr.—Classical J, 32: 541-56, June.
10163. *JC* in modern dress in N. Y.—B. Atkinson; N. Y. Times, Nov. 12, p. 26; Nov. 28, p. 1, Sec xi.—R. Lockridge; N. Y. Sun, Nov. 12, p. 28.—Time, 30: 43 (Nov. 22), port.
10164. La représentation de *JC* à l'Atelier.—M. L. Cazamian.—Etude Anglaises, 1: 182-83, Mar.
10165. A modernized production of *JC*.—S. Young; New Republic, 93: 101-02 (Dec. 1).—A. MacLeish; Nation, 145: 617 (Dec. 4).—G. Vernon; Commonwealth, 27: 160 (Dec. 3).—E. Taggard; Scholastic, 31: 6-7 (Dec. 11).—J. W. Krutch; Nation, 145: 594-95 (Nov. 27).
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King John (KJ)

10166. J. D. Wilson's ed. of *KJ*.—TLS, Jan. 16, p. 40.—NQ, 172: 71-72, Jan. 23.—G. B. Harrison; MLR, 32: 455-56, July.—L. L. Schücking; Beiblatt, 48: 97-99, Apr.—W. Keller; SJ, 73: 151-52.

King Lear (KL)

10167. 'KL'.—P. F. van Draat.—*Anglia*, 61: 177-85, Jan.
 10168. The occasion of *KL*.—J. W. Draper.—*SP*, 34: 176-85, Apr.
 10169. B. A. P. Van Dam's *The Text of 'KL'*.—M. Doran.—*MP*, 34: 430-33, May.
 10170. *Stenogr. Studien zu 'KL'*. (Diss.).—O. Stössel.—München, pp. 80.
 10171. Goneril.—L. L. Schücking.—*Die neueren Sprachen* (no. 10), 45: 413.
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Love's Labor's Lost (LLL)

10172. 'Twill be thine another day'.—M. P. Tilley.—*MLN*, 52: 394-97, June.
 10173. F. A. Yates' *A study of 'LLL'*.—C. J. Sisson.—*J. Crofts*; *English* (no. 5), 1: 443-44.—W. Keller; *SJ*, 73: 161-62.
 See 9757, 9767, 9788, 9783.

Macbeth (M)

- 10173a. *M* in Paris.—M. M. du Gard.—*Les Nouvelles Littéraires*, July 3, p. 8.
 10174. A scene from *M* at Antioch College [photo].—*TAM*, 21: 535, July.
 10175. *The Thane of Cawdor: A Detective Study of 'M'*.—D. Baird.—*Ln*: OUP, pp. xii, 106; 3 ils, diagrams, \$2.—*TLS*, Aug. 14, p. 588.
 10176. *M*.—M. Castelain, ed.—Paris, pp. xiv, 164.
 10177. Notes on R. Strauss's Tone Poem 'M'.—L. Gilman.—*Stadium Concerts R*, Aug. 1, pp. 9-13.
 10178. Deutschbein's *Sh's 'M'*.—J. Speck.—*Archiv*, 117: 227-29, June.—M. Heuer; *Beiblatt*, 48: 100-05, Apr.
 10179. *M* at Sloane School.—*English* (no. 5), 1: 431-32.
 10180. Some doubtful points in *M*.—D. Baird.—*NQ*, 173: 224, Sept. 25.

10181. *M* as a morality.—E. R. Hunter.—*SAB*, 12: 217-35, Oct.
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10182. The prenzie [read 'peregrin'] Angelo.—W. P. Barrett.—*TLS*, Jan. 16, p. 44.
 10183. 'All-bridling law' in II, iv, 94.—M. Praz.—*TLS*, Feb. 13, p. 111.
 10184. Licio.—R. Lawson.—*Engl Studies*, 19: 259-64, Dec.
 10184a. *The Jacobean Sh & 'MM'*.—R. W. Chambers.—OUP, pp. 60.
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10185. Interpreting *MV* to youth.—M. H. Malm.—*English J*, 26: 317-19, Apr.
 10186. Die gerichtliche Entscheidung in *MV*.—E. Weigelin.—*Die neueren Sprachen*, 45: 204-08, May.
 10187. Bassanio, the Eliz'n lover.—H. P. Pettigrew.—*PQ*, 16: 296-306, July.
 10188. Shylock.—B. Martin.—*Dalhousie R*, 17: 333-38, Oct.
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Merry Wives of Windsor (MW)

10189. The realism of the merry wives.—E. J. Haller.—*W. Va. Univ'y B*, May, pp. 32-38.
 10190. *Sh and the Post Horses: A Study of 'MW'*.—J. Crofts.—Bristol, pp. 232.—F. S. Boas; *English* (no. 5), 1: 442-43.
 10191. Sh and the post horses.—R. B. Mowat.—*Discovery*, 17: 244-45, Aug.
 10192. 'Ragged' as a monosyllable.—L. H. M. Strachan; J. E. Morris.—*NQ*, 173: 246 (Oct. 2), 266 (Oct. 9).
 10193. Two notes on *MW*.—H. W. Crundell.—*NQ*, 173: 112-13, Aug. 14.

10194. R. Shallow, esq., J. P.—J. W. Draper.—*Neuphilol. Mitteilungen*, 38: 257-69.
See 9764, 9783.

Mids. Night's Dream (MND)

10195. Eine Inszenierung von *MND*.—*Theater d Welt*, 1: 181-85, Mar., ils.
See 9763, 9764, 9783, 9788, 10236.

Much Ado (MA)

10196. Sh's imagery in *MA*. [MS. thesis].—L. M. Gallaher.—In *U of Texas lib.*
See 9764, 9782, 9783, 10204.

Othello

10197. W. Huston's *O*.—J. B. Brown; N. Y. Post, Jan. 7, p. 18.—B. Mantle; *Daily News*, Jan. 8, p. 53.—R. Lockridge; N. Y. Sun, Jan. 7, p. 18.—D. Gilbert; N. Y. World-Telegram, Jan. 7, p. 18.—J. B. Atkinson; N. Y. Times, Jan. 7, p. 16.—S. Young; *New Republic*, 89: 385, Jan. 27.
10198. The wronged *Iago*.—S. A. Tannenbaum.—*SAB*, 12: 57-62, Jan.
10199. *O*. [Text, glossary, notes].—M. Morozov, ed.—Moscow, 1936, pp. 183, port. (Engl. text).
10200. *O* as a love tragedy.—G. R. Elliott.—*American R*, 8: 257-88, Jan.
10201. Cassio, the puritan.—E. Glen.—*NQ*, 172: 43-44, Jan. 16.
10202. 'O'.—P. Clerk.—*English R*, 64: 403-04, Apr.
10203. *O*.—G. Skillan, ed.—Ln: French, 2s. (With notes, glossary, etc.).
10204. *Iago & Some Shakespearean Villains*.—J. H. E. Brock.—Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, pp. viii, 48; 2s. 6d.
10205. *O* in N. Y.—E. J. R. Isaacs.—*TAM*, 21: 178-82, Mar.—G. Vernon; *Commonweal*, 25: 360, Jan. 22.—E. V. Wyatt; *Catholic World*, 144: 601, Feb.—J. W. Krutch; *Nation*, 144: 79, Jan. 16.

10206. J. H. Brock's *Iago*.—S. A. Tannenbaum.—*SAB*, 12: 260, Oct.

10207. Diabolic intellect & the noble hero.—F. R. Leavis.—*Scrutiny*, 6: 259-83, Dec.

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Pericles

10208. A passage in IV, i, emended.—S. A. Tannenbaum.—*SAB*, 12: 190-91, July.

Phoenix & Turtle (P&T)

10209. Was Lady Bedford the Phoenix?—R. W. Short; B. H. Newdigate.—*TLS*, Feb. 13 (p. 111), Feb. 20 (p. 131).
10210. Sh's contribution to R. Chester's *Love's Martyr*.—G. Bonnard.—*Engl. Studies*, 19: 66-69, Apr.
10211. *P & T*.—B. H. Newdigate, ed.—Oxf.: B. Blackwell, pp. xxiv, 32, port.; 2s. 6d.

Richard II (R2)

10212. The almanac of *R2*.—N. Y. Times, Jan 31, Sec. 11, p. 3.
10213. *R2* produced in N. Y.—B. Atkinson; N. Y. Times, Feb. 6, p. 14.—D. Gilbert; N. Y. World Telegram, Feb. 6, p. 6a.—R. Lockridge; *The Sun* (N. Y.), Feb. 7, p. 10.—J. Anderson; N. Y. Journal, Feb. 7.—G. W. Gabriel; N. Y. American, Feb. 7.—*Literary Digest*, 123: 23, Feb. 20.
10214. M. Evans's *R2* in N. Y.—B. Atkinson.—N. Y. Times, Feb. 14, Sec. 19, p. 1.—B. Crowther, *ibid.*, p. 3.—E. V. Wyatt, *Catholic World*, 144: 726-28 (Mar.), 146: 214-15 (Nov.).
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THE TYGER'S HEART WRAPT IN A PLAYER'S HIDE

By THOMAS H. MCNEAL

THE direct cause of Robert Greene's quarrel with Shakspeare has become so clouded by time that it is never likely, at this late date, to be brought into a focus clear enough for thorough examination. The evidence seems to suggest that envy and malice, which may or may not have been known to the younger writer, had been gnawing at Greene's heart for some time before he composed the now notorious passage in *A Groatsworth of Wit*. Certainly, with the publication of that work, on September 20, 1592, Shakspeare and everyone else in London who could read knew how Greene felt about him, whatever it was that had aroused the dying dramatist's anger:

"Yes, trust them not: for there is an upstart crowe beautified with our feathers that with his *Tyger's heart wrapt in a Player's hide* supposes he is as well able to bombast out a blank verse as the best of you; and being an absolute *Johannes fac totum*, is in his own conceit the onely Shake-scene in a countrey."

I will not attempt to re-state the conclusions that scholars have drawn from the little evidence offered in this passage. But what appears to have been even more irritating to Greene than Shakspeare's connection with the *Henry* play has, I believe, never been given its proper importance. Twenty-eight year old Shakspeare, according to Greene, had had his head turned—was "feeling his oats." He was "in his own conceit the onely Shakes-scene in a country," going about town comparing himself with his betters. Perhaps he was already making sport of the rantings and ravings of Elizabethan tragedy, of the absurdities of stage mechanics, and of the Petrarchan and "love-vision" artificialities in the poetry of his day—deficiencies to be lightly satirized in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, a comedy he was probably at work on just at this time.

Too often it has been hinted that Shakspeare's reaction to Greene's bitter words was kindly and magnanimous. But

what young man likes to have a bad pun hurled vindictively back into his own teeth? And what young man likes to be advertised in print as a braggart? The antagonist, however, had passed to his slim reward seventeen days before his insult appeared. One cannot fight with the dead. The editor of the vile work was still alive, however, and the ire of our young man reached his ears. Henry Chettle, who had seen the *Groatsworth* into print after Greene's death, felt no responsibility about the matter. The words had been Greene's, not his. But he came to see that something must be done, and made a formal apology, in December, in the preface to his *Kind Heart's Dream*.

The unfortunate circumstance, let us suppose, was now considered closed by everyone—except Shakspeare. The wound left by Greene's dart was not to be healed with the salve of flattery; and the rest of this paper is an attempt to reveal how the thought of Greene and his works continued to rankle in Shakspeare's heart for some time after the *Groatsworth* had been published.

On October 8, 1593, an Elizabethan miscellany called *The Phoenix Nest*, was entered at the Stationer's Hall. Among other poems was one, "A most rare, and excellent Dreame, learnedly set down by a worthy Gentleman, a brave Scholler, and M. of Artes of both Vniversities." The poem is properly laid at Greene's door. In a note on it in his recent edition of the miscellany, Dr. Hyder E. Rollins states the general opinion of scholars regarding Greene's authorship of the piece:

This poem is generally attributed to Greene because he was an M.A. of Cambridge (1583) and of Oxford (1588)—a fact to which the title-pages of his books often bear witness. . . . It seems certain that the title of the poem was meant to suggest Greene, and probably, judging from the poem itself (which in many ways resembles *A Maidens Dreame* . . . 1591, . . . "by Robert Green Master of Arts"), that he actually was the author. Such have been the conclusions of almost every scholar who has touched on *The Phoenix Nest*.¹

Probably the two poems—*A Maidens Dreame* and *A most Rare Dreame*—were written at about the same time, since

¹*The Phoenix Nest*, Harvard University Press, 1931, p. 144, n. 39, 2.

one appears the year before Greene's death and the other the year after. The last work may have been found among Greene's papers, and sold or given to the printers of *The Phoenix Nest*. "We know that certain papers of Greene's were in the hands of printers after his death in the previous year."²

Professor Rollins's statement that *A Most Rare Dreame* "in many ways resembles *A Maidens Dreame*" evidently takes into consideration the facts that the poems are both composed in rime royal, that they are built upon the framework of the old love-vision or dream-poem, that they are long, and that they were not written in connection with the romances—all of which peculiarities set it apart from the rest of Greene's verse.

A Most Rare Dream is a work clearly modeled in the school of the love-vision. Actuality finds no home in it, and its complete artificiality, with nothing at all in life to tie on to, leaves it merely pretty, without a hint of profundity. Present is the sleepless, despairing lover, the coming of sleep, the meeting of lovers in a dream, a list of the lady's charms, a final awakening. J. C. Jordan's summary of the poem gives about all that need be known:

The poem opens with an extended discussion of the cause of dreams, after the mediæval manner. Then follows the visit of a lady to her sleeping lover. The lover (in the first person) describes her beauties and tells of his restless and hopeless state. The lady and he discuss the subject of love at some length. She is firm in her denials, and he faints away in a swoon. Thereupon she, fearing that he is dead, relents; and the lover comes back to life and the waking state.³

The piece is a fine example of Shakspeare's pet aversion during those early years that must have encompassed 1593. Like many another young poet at the beginning of a career, he was in revolt against the art standards of his times. Two of his prejudices are of especial interest here: a distrust of the sighing lover and denying lady *motif* present in Elizabethan poetry; and a disgust for the artificial listing of a lady's charms, which grew almost inevitably out of the first

²J. C. Jordan, *Robert Greene*, Columbia University Press, 1915, p. 142.

³*Ibid.*, p. 143.

situation. Such ideas were rife in the imitations of the mediæval love-vision, well illustrated by Greene in *A Most Rare Dreame* and in the more popular Petrarchan sonnets that were in full flower by the early 90's.

The unreality of the *motifs* comes in for a lashing in *Sonnets XXI* and *CXXX*, pieces probably belonging in time, because of these ideas expressed in them, to the dramatic period of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Romeo and Juliet*. Sir Sidney Lee comments upon the satire in the two sonnets as follows:

Similarly in *Sonnet CXXX* . . . the poet satirises the conventional lists of precious stones, metals, and flowers, to which the sonnetteers likened their mistresses' features. It was not the only time that Shakespeare deprecated the sonnetteer's practice of comparing features of women's beauty with the "earth and sea's rich gems." . . . Spenser, in his *Amoretti*, No. ix., gives Shakespeare a very direct cue, as may be seen when Spenser's cited sonnet is read alongside Shakespeare's sonnet xxi.⁴

Mr. J. Q. Adams likewise finds satire and revolt against current literary fashions:

The same note of ridicule appears in *Sonnet 21*. . . . And in *Sonnet 130* he laughs at the style of the conventional sonneteer.⁵

It is likely, however, that Shakspeare draws the bow in *Sonnet CXXX* for a target more particular than Elizabethan sonnetteers in general—that the arrow is meant for *A Most Rare Dreame*. The dark lady herein pictured is inevitably a protest against honeyed blondes of many sugared sonnets; and the fact that she has neither breasts of snow nor perfumed breath also strikes at many of Shakspeare's predecessors and contemporaries in verse. But the connection between Greene's poem and *Sonnet CXXX* appears to be much closer than any unpremeditated critical negation of Petrarchan conceits in general could have produced. *A Most Rare Dreame* is long, and contains much material not found in *Sonnet CXXX*. But if that passage wherein the lover lists the charms of his lady is placed beside Shakspeare's fourteen lines, some interesting parallels may be observed:

⁴*A Life of William Shakespeare*, Macmillan Co., 1916, p. 190; continued in n. 3.

⁵*Life of William Shakespeare*, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1923, pp. 170-1.

Greene:

*Hir Amber tresses on hir shoulders lies,
 The which as she doth moue, diuided run
 About hir bodie just in circle wise,
 Like to the curious web Arachne spun;
 Or else, to make a fit comparison,
 Like slender twist turnēd to shining fire,
 Or flames by woonder wrought into a wire.*

*The forehead that confines these burnisht haire,
 For whiteness striueth with vntouchēd snowe;
 For smoothness with the Iuorie compares;
 And doth the Alablasters glistring showe,
 Vnder this firmament you are to know,
 Two powrfull stars which, at their pleasure, moue
 The variable effects that follows loue.*

*Hir cheekes resembleth right a garden plot,
 Of diuers sorts of rare Carnation flowres,
 The which the scorching sun offendeth not,
 Nor boystrous winter with his rotting showres;
 Vncertaine Iuno thereon neuer lowers:
 Here Venus with hir little loues reposes,
 Amongst the lillies and the damaske roses.*

*Hir lips compares with the Vermilion morne,
 Hir equall teeth in semicircle wise,
 For orientnes selected pearle may scorne;
 What may I of hir issuing breath deuise,
 That from this pearle and Synaber doth rise:
 The francumsense and myrr, that Inde presents,
 Within this aire leese their extollēd sentis.*

.

*Girt with a tawnie Cyprous were hir clothes,
 And thus attirde, this Angell woman goes.⁵*

Shakspeare:

*My Mistress eyes are nothing like the Sunne,
 Currall is farre more red, then her lips red,
 If snowe be white, why then her breasts are dun:
 If haire be wiers, black wiers grow on her head:
 I have seene Roses damaskt, red and white,
 But no such Roses see I in her cheekes,*

⁵*Life of William Shakespeare*, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1923, pp. 170-1.

⁶*A Most Rare and Excellent Dreame (The Phoenix Nest)*, p. 34, ll. 25ff.

*And in some perfumes is there more delight,
 Then in the breath that from my Mistres reekes.
 I love to heare her speake, yet well I know,
 That Musicke hath a farre more pleasing sound:
 I graunt I never saw a goddesse goe,
 My Mistress when shee walkes treads on the ground.
 And yet, by heaven, I thinke my love as rare,
 As any she belid with false compare.⁷*

The italicized lines show how particular is Shakspeare's negation of the passage from *A Most Rare Dream*. Granted that the whiteness of snow, the sweetness of breath, and hairs of wire are conventional comparisons in Elizabethan poetry, it is rather against the laws of chance that all of these and more should be served up in a satirical sonnet in much the same order that Greene previously arranged them in his last poem. The cutting thrust by which Shakspeare has apparently turned an "Angell woman" into a creature of flesh and blood "who treads the ground" is final and best internal evidence.

In *A Midsummer Night's Dream* Shakspeare's quarrel with the writers of charm lists and spineless lovers and cruel ladies is expanded into a teapot tempest. At the very outset the comedy takes on the vaguely familiar though disjointed form of a love-vision. The title itself suggests the dream-poem; but instead of a May-day or spring-time setting, the time is night, and the season is mad midsummer. Gradually Bottom and the lovers drift into the wood so often found in the old formula, led by Puck rather than the usual animal guide. Gradually each is put to sleep—each goes into the dream. But what a dream of madness—where women woo and are disdained, and list their lovers' charms: where the old etiquette of courtly love is speared and slain. "I am your spaniel," says the unorthodox Helena to Demetrius. "Away, you Ethiopel!" cries Lysander to Hermia. But reality returns with the day, and all are roused when "huntsmen wake them with their horns." It is difficult, however, to distinguish the real from the unreal in such matters.

Are you sure
 That we are awake?

asks Demetrius.

⁷"Sonnet CXXX," J. O. Beaty and J. W. Bower, *Famous Editions of English Poets*, Richard R. Smith, Inc., New York, 1931, p. 50.

It seems to me
That yet we sleep, we dream.
(IV, i. 195-7)

With that the farce of the love-vision is over,⁸ and Shakspeare turns in the last act to a final shot at another favorite theme of his, the weakness of the English stage.

The relation of the play to Robert Greene may be both general and particular. The man was especially vulnerable for satire on the field of the love-vision. Leaving out any animosity on the part of the "upstart crow," he would nevertheless have had a hard time missing the London journalist if he had aimed at all in the direction of dream literature. Of the pieces that Greene composed towards the end of his troubled career, *Orphion* (1588), *A Maidens Dreame* (1590), *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier* (1592), *Greene's Vision* (1592) and *A Most Rare and Excellent Dreame* (1593) all use in some form or other the dream plan. For various reasons, however, it is the last of these works that seems to bear the brunt of particular satire.

Bully Bottom, awakening from the experiences of his love-vision, cries out:

I have had a most rare vision. I have had a dream, past the wit of man to say what dream it was: man is but an ass, if he go about to expound this dream. Methought I was,—there is no man can tell what,—and methought I had,—but man is but a patched fool, if he will offer to say what methought I had. The eye of man hath not heard, the ear of man hath not seen, man's hand is not able to taste, his tongue to conceive, nor his heart to report, what my dream was. I will get Peter Quince to write a ballad of this dream: it shall be called Bottom's Dream, because it hath no bottom.
(IV, i, 208-21).

⁸So full is Shakspeare of his subject that it is almost inevitable that these ideas which are developed into the full-fledged play of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and touched upon in two of his sonnets should have spilled over into *Romeo and Juliet*, following close on the heels of the comedy. At once we meet the artificial and sighing Romeo and the denying Rosaline. The reality of Juliet's love, however, intrudes and awakens the hero out of his ridiculous dream. An echo of the fun in the comedy appears when Mercutio calls out in ridicule to Romeo, "Cry but 'Aye me!'"—when in the very next scene Juliet breaks the silence of the night with that same conventional lover's sigh. There is rich comedy in the first balcony scene; and most of it grows out of Juliet's inability to hold to Petrarchan standards of love-making. Her long apology to Romeo for not being able to pretend is excellent satire. But "farewell compliment!" cries Juliet. Then, frightened at her own audacity, she adds,

Or, if thou think'st I am too quickly won,
I'll frown and be perverse and say thee nay.

In the first place, Bottom's statement, "I have had a most rare vision. I have had a dream," may be taken as a travesty of the title of *A Most Rare and Excellent Dreame*. Again, the poem is as long and rambling in content as it is in its full title, and might well be called "Bottom's Dream, because it hath no bottom." Furthermore, an examination of what "Bottom's Dream" must have been if Peter Quince had ever set it down on paper reveals an excellent burlesque on Greene's poem. For it is Titania who woos, while the hero remains coy; and it is Titania who lists the ass-lover's charms,—his "amiable cheeks," his "sleek head," and his "fair large ears." The date of the poem, too, is an aid to the argument, for it was probably less than a year old when *A Midsummer Nights Dream* first saw the stage.

A connection between Greene and Bottom has already been argued. J. M. Brown, in "An Early Rival of Shakespeare," says:

Shakespeare, with all his tolerance, was unable to refrain from retaliation; but it is with no venomous pen that he retaliates. . . . In the *Midsummer Night's Dream* . . . he takes this early school of amateur player-poets, and pillories them in Bottom, Quince, Snug, Flute, Snout, and Starveling; and with elfin machinery he borrows from Greene, and turns his caricature, Bottom, into everlasting ridicule.⁹

A reference to Greene's death has likewise been pointed out in Theseus's lines:

"The thrice three Muses mourning for the death
Of Learning, late deceased in beggary."¹⁰ (V. i. 52-3)

E. K. Chambers notes, relative to "Bottom's Dream, because it hath no bottom," that "Mr. Fleay suggests that there is here a hit at Robert Greene, who called one of his poems *A Maiden's Dream*, for the apparent reason that there was no maiden in it."¹¹ Such reasoning is interesting. Unfortunately, however, certain facts must be taken into account before accepting the theory. That there was no maiden in that poem means nothing, for the piece is an

⁹*New Zealand Magazine*, No. 6, pp. 97-133, 1877. Brown's article is substantially reproduced in Vol. I of A. B. Grosart's *Complete Works of Robert Greene*, London, Huth Library Series, 1881-3, 15 vols., from which this passage is taken, p. xviii.

¹⁰See Chambers's note on the lines, *The Arden Shakespeare*, D. C. Heath and Co., New York.

¹¹*Arden Shakespeare*, p. 125, n. on IV. II. 220-1.

elegy, addressed to the Lady Elizabeth Hatton on the death of her uncle, Sir Christopher Hatton, Lord Chancellor of England; and Greene probably felt that his words of consolation to this woman should be placed in the mouth of a woman. The date of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is a barrier, too. It has generally been placed between the years 1593-1596,¹² too long after the appearance of *A Maidens Dreame* (1590) for Bottom's speech to have been understood by an audience. Also, there is missing in the poem situations that would lead to the satire on courtly love that "Bottom's Dream" must have contained, and that is otherwise expressed through the comedy; for no lovers are present in Greene's love-vision elegy, only a dead knight. The listing of a woman's charms gives way to the recounting of a man's admirable and generous qualities. Finally, Shakspeare would hardly have satirized an elegy written on the death of the "late Lord Chancellor of England."

It is worth while to note how completely these difficulties that we encounter in *A Maidens Dreame* disappear if we accept *A Most Rare Dream* (1593) as the butt of Bottom's jest. Fleay's unsubstantiated guess now has legs to stand upon. The more literate and sophisticated part of Shakspeare's audience very likely recognized the allusion, too; for Bottom's speech is already anticipated in the title of the play, which approaches the title of the poem. The last poem from the pen of the successful poet and dramatist must have brought forth some public comment, especially since the rattle of the guns in the late literary war over the passages in the *Groatsworth of Wit* had scarcely ceased to reverbeate.

This slight evidence of Shakspeare's more secret than open retaliation, if taken as valid, might offer certain suggestions for the answering of other questions that scholars have asked: (1) The dates of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Sonnet CXXX*—both of which works are inevitably drawn together by their burlesque of the popular pastime of listing a lady's charms—are rather definitely fixed at a time very soon after the entry of *The Phoenix Nest* in the

¹²R. A. Law, "On the Dating of Shakespeare's Plays," *Shakespeare Association Bulletin*, XI, No. 1, p. 50, 1936.

Stationer's Register, October 8, 1593. (2) The Dark Lady of the *Sonnets* loses much of her importance as a probable model of some contemporary person, and appears to be no more than a negation in general of blonde feminine figures that filled the contemporary sonnets, and especially a travesty of Greene's heroine in *A Most Rare Dream*. (3) The suggestions of Brown, Fleay, and others that Greene has been at least thrice referred to in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is considerably enhanced, since the comedy itself is largely a burlesque of the "love-vision" that Greene employed excessively.

But to return to the main thesis: Though incomplete and shadowy, I believe that the evidence I have presented is sufficient to show that Shakspeare was much more disturbed over the tirade in the *Groatsworth of Wit* than has generally been thought; and that he was not above expressing his bitterness towards Greene in at least two works composed immediately following the dead dramatist's last and childish work—more than a year after Greene's death.

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SHAKSPERE AND THE PURITANS

By R. BALFOUR DANIELS

ALTHOUGH Shakspeare, to judge from his plays, took no great interest in the smoking of tobacco or the mining industry, one should not accuse him of total ignorance of these subjects. Ben Jonson, to be sure, mentioned the new custom of smoking or "drinking" tobacco;¹ Shakspeare did not; but the latter's keen observation of the life around him supplied him with many facts that his less observant contemporaries overlooked. Yet in spite of Shakspeare's awareness of the social, political and religious movements of Elizabethan England and his knowledge of the feelings of the populace, it has been alleged that he knew nothing of the popular tendencies of Puritanism.² Can it be that Sir John Falstaff's psalm-singing weaver³ is merely a curious coincidence?

Were it possible to connect Shakspeare with the Martin Marprelate Controversy or the play entitled *The Puritan*,⁴ his interest in Puritanism and its development would have to be admitted by every one; but even though he had nothing to do with either of these, it is possible to discover his attitude toward the impending religious and political strife.

His plays, in the words of one distinguished scholar,⁵ "furnish many ironical references to the Puritans and their doctrines;" and we may conclude, accordingly, that Shakspeare was opposed to the Puritans. It would, indeed, have been strange if he had not been: for he was an actor and a playwright, and the Puritans did not look upon the stage with favor. Had it been in their power, they would have taken away his livelihood; but during his lifetime they were not able to effect the closing of the theatres. When they did finally gain political ascendancy and shut up the playhouses,

¹*Every Man in His Humour*, III. v.

²J. R. Green, *Short History of the English People* (New York, 1884), p. 436.

³*Henry IV*, II. iv.

⁴For a consideration of the possible author of the play, see: W. D. Dunkel, "The Authorship of *The Puritan*", *PMLA*, XLV (1930), 804-808.

⁵Sir Sidney Lee, *A Life of William Shakspeare*, 3d. ed. of his Revised Version (London, 1922), p. 487.

the drama had declined from its glorious eminence; the loss was, therefore, not an irreparable one.

Even before the turbulent reign of the first Charles, the contest between the Puritans and the Court Party was clearly foreshadowed; Shakspeare saw the early signs of religious and political dissention before they became apparent to the general public. The pageantry and splendor of court and city life, the joyous and convivial celebration of Christmas, the fairs, festivals, bear-baitings, puppet shows and plays were things that Shakspeare delighted in and approved of; but they were most distasteful to the Puritans. They sought to circumscribe life and hold it in with a stern and austere restraint, while England's greatest dramatist and poet believed in a humanistic enjoyment of all of life's pleasures and got infinite delight from observing the gorgeous and limitless panorama of human activity in a colorful, adventurous and exciting age.

Now a Scots clergyman has argued from somewhat tenuous evidence that Shakspeare was a Puritan and recusant;⁶ but is it not more likely that the religious forms of the Puritans seemed to him cold and uninspiring and lacking in the emotional and æsthetic appeal that was present in the services of the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church? Then, too, there is the report of the Reverend Richard Davies that "he dyed a papist."⁷ Sir Sidney Lee refers to this statement as "idle gossip";⁸ but another scholar of note asks: "How did Sir Sidney know that Davies was irresponsible or a gossip?"⁹ and declares that "it was by no means unusual for a seventeenth-century Catholic to be buried in his parish church."⁹

Yet, Protestant or Catholic, Shakspeare was no doubt hostile to the Puritans' attitude to the theatre. Nevertheless, he did not show his hostility by any splenetic outburst of violent satire. He was not the author of any pointedly anti-Puritan drama such as Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*.

⁶T. Carter, *Shakespeare, Puritan and Recusant* (Edinburgh and London, 1897).

⁷"From *Fulman MS.* xv (C. C. C. MS. 309), no. 7, p. 22 in the library of C. C. C. Oxford."—E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1930), II, 255.

⁸*Op. cit.*, p. 487.

⁹Chambers, *op. cit.*, I, 86.

His gentleness and humanity made him see that many Puritans were not, even in their opinion of plays and players, wholly wrong or utterly unreasonable or absolutely ridiculous. His fidelity to nature made it impossible for him to paint the picture in unnatural colors. There was, as he well knew, much virtue and honest charity among the Non-Conformists and not a little vice and frivolity in the party with which he naturally sympathized.

One looks first at *Twelfth Night* because of the specific references to Puritans therein. Here Malvolio is our Puritan. Behold Sir Toby Belch, Sir Andrew Aguecheek and Feste, the clown, having a glorious time drinking and singing vociferously long after midnight.¹⁰ They are making a tremendous noise. Maria enters and, though secretly amused, protests at their making such a din. Sir Toby is too far in his cups to pay any attention and only sings the louder. Thereupon Malvolio enters; he will restore order in the household, and says indignantly:¹¹

"My masters, are you mad, or what are you? Have you no wit, manners, nor honesty, but to gabble like tinkers at this time of night? Do ye make an alehouse of my lady's house, that ye squeak out your coziers' catches without any mitigation or remorse of voice? Is there no respect of place, persons, nor time in you?"

Sir Toby is quite unabashed and answers wittily:

"We did keep time, sir, in our catches. Sneek up!"

At this Malvolio remonstrates with Sir Toby and suggests that the Countess will turn him out of the house; the singing continues unabated; and Sir Toby shows his contempt, asking:

"Art any more than a steward? Dost thou think, because thou art virtuous, there shall be no more cakes and ale?"

Malvolio departs after berating Maria for supplying the roisterers with wine. All of them are now annoyed by Malvolio's righteous indignation and plan to play a practical joke on him. Sir Toby asks what sort of a person Malvolio is, and Maria answers:

"Marry, sir, sometimes he is a kind of puritan."

¹⁰Act II. sc. iii.

¹¹Alwin Thaler, "The Original Malvolio?", *Shakespeare Association Bulletin*, VII (1932), 57-71, presents the case for Ffarington and discusses other possibilities.

And Sir Andrew, who evidently has an ingrained dislike for Puritans, exclaims:

"O, if I thought that, I'd beat him like a dog!"

But Sir Toby, less reactionary and better disposed toward the Puritans, asks:

"What, for being a puritan? Thy exquisite reason, dear knight?"

"I have no exquisite reason for't, but I have reason good enough,"

answers Sir Andrew, who thinks in his simple country fashion that all Non-Conformists should be punished and that any radicalism, whether in religion or politics, is quite intolerable. Herein lies Sir Andrew's fascination for us: he is an innocent knight from the country, easily gulled; and he has an immense respect for Sir Toby, whom he regards as a great wit and man of fashion; but he cannot understand Sir Toby's urbane tolerance. He cannot consider Malvolio merely an annoying and officious fellow, as his companion does, but believes him to be a dangerous reformer who is intent on interfering with the freeborn Englishman's right of getting drunk and singing the whole night long. Sir Andrew is, or would have been in a later age, the Tory landowner who has no very good reason for his religious or political views except that they were held by his father and grandfather; and he believes that any man who holds otherwise is an upstart rascal.

But Maria qualifies her original assertion:

"The devil a puritan that he is, or anything constantly, but a time-pleaser; an affection'd ass, that cons state without book and utters it by great swarths; the very best persuaded of himself, so cramm'd, as he thinks, with excellencies, that it is his grounds of faith that all that look on him love him; and on that vice in him will my revenge find notable cause to work."

Thus she makes that charge so often levelled against the Puritans; namely, that of hypocrisy and pride. There is no doubt some truth in her allegation: for Malvolio is trying to curry favor by whatever means he can. Yet the excellencies with which he thinks himself crammed are not altogether imaginary. He is an able, honest and conscientious steward in Olivia's household. He is sober, industrious, intelligent, and not without some learning; but his chief defect is his consuming pride. Malvolio is contemptuous of the ignorant Sir Andrew and the carousing Sir Toby, whom he

regards as a worthless wastrel. He differs from these rude and boisterous knights and, in true Puritan fashion, prides himself on his superior virtue through which he believes he may accomplish wonders. Maria, who is thoroughly annoyed by Malvolio's priggishness, sees that he has such a good opinion of himself that he may be tricked into believing that Olivia is enamoured of him. The fact that she is a countess and the significance of Sir Toby's contemptuous question, "Art any more than a steward?" do not impress Malvolio at all. Virtue, it seems to him, must be rewarded; and he is about to receive a tangible earthly reward. He has the Puritan's faith in the efficacy of diligence in business, nor has he failed to be exceedingly polite in all his endeavors.

Passing over the question of whether Malvolio was suggested by or intended to represent Sir Ambrose Willoughby, Sir William Knollys, or—as seems more likely—William Ffarington,¹¹ can we not conclude that Olivia's steward stands for a certain type of Puritan that Shakspeare disliked and took great pleasure in ridiculing? One must notice, however, that it is not Malvolio's Puritanism that is emphasized but his personal characteristics, qualities which, it is true, not a few of his persuasion possessed. Through his self-righteous pride and conceit Maria makes him, as she says, "a common recreation."¹² Perhaps the most entertaining feature of the whole affair is the injury to Malvolio's self-esteem and his burning sense of injustice when they pretend to consider him mad and lodge him in a dark room.¹³ This is perhaps the severest blow of all: for Malvolio took especial satisfaction in his intelligence and powers of reason. Somehow the stern Puritan was no more satisfied with Olivia's household than he was with Elizabethan London. There were many things to offend him in both places. Yet in Malvolio's last speech¹⁴ a prophetic note is struck; and the comments of Olivia and the Duke after Malvolio has departed are indeed significant.¹⁴

Malvolio. I'll be reveng'd on the whole pack of you. (*Exit.*)

Olivia. He hath been most notoriously abus'd.

Duke. Pursue him, and entreat him to a peace.

¹²Act II. sc. iii.

¹³Act IV, sc. ii.

¹⁴Act. V. sc. i.

Well, whether Malvolio ever did make peace with his tormentors we do not know; but we do know that during Elizabeth's reign the Puritans did not wreck the kingdom. It was not until the time of Charles I that they overthrew the Court Party, established the Commonwealth, and beheaded the king. Was this, then, Malvolio's revenge? If so, it was a hundred times worse than the original offense.

The anti-Puritan bias of Sir Andrew Aguecheek has already been mentioned. There is another instance of it in the play.¹⁵ Sir Andrew's suit for the hand of Olivia is not progressing satisfactorily. Sir Toby Belch, acting as his counsellor, advises "some laudable attempt either of valor or policy."

Sir Andrew. An't be any way, it must be with valor; for policy
I hate.

I had as lief be a Brownist as a politician.

This is an emphatic reiteration of Sir Andrew's dislike of the Non-Conformists.

The Brownists, an early group of Separatist Puritans, were so called on account of their leader, Robert Browne (1550?-1633?), who denounced the episcopal form of government and was imprisoned by the Bishop of Norwich in 1581, though his release was later effected by the Lord Treasurer, Burghley, a distant relative.¹⁶

Of *Troilus and Cressida* Coleridge has said: "Yet another secondary and subordinate purpose Shakespeare has inwoven with his delineation of these two characters,—that of opposing the inferior civilization, but purer morals, of the Trojans to the refinements, deep policy, but duplicity and sensual corruptions, of the Greeks."¹⁷ One might easily substitute the word "Puritans" for "Trojans" and "Cavaliers" for "Greeks;" for it is to the England of Shakspeare's time that the characters must be referred, even though the action is supposed to take place outside the walls and in the city of ancient Troy. One's sympathy is enlisted for the

¹⁵Act III. sc. ii.

¹⁶D. N. B. 57-61.

¹⁷S. T. Coleridge, *Lectures and Notes on Shakespeare* (London, G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1914 edition), pp. 307-308.

Trojans, who though more steadfast of purpose and more deeply devoted to honesty and fair encounter, are no match for the subtle and crafty Greeks. The Greeks are hindered by internal dissention and a spirit of jealous rivalry; but their resourcefulness and power, well directed by Ulysses and Nestor, are to bring them victory in the end.

Herein one may see Shakspeare's recognition of the importance of leadership. The forces of Cavalier and Puritan were, or would be in a few years, very nearly equal. If any active hostility were to occur, the side with the more skillful leaders would win. Oliver Cromwell proved the determining factor.

To return to *Troilus and Cressida*, the vices and follies of the Greeks are exemplified in Achilles, Ajax, Diomedes and Patroclus; while Thersites seems to combine most of their faults and be, besides, a scurrilous defamer. Many of the same defects were to be found in the Court Party. Hector and Troilus, though lacking the brilliance and fascination of the Greek leaders, are sincere and able men and may be taken as representing the best type of Non-Conformist sympathizer. Cressida, a rather pitiful figure, may be said to stand for a Puritan girl of a warm and impulsive nature who has been corrupted by the loose morals of the Court. Helen, brought up in this hothouse atmosphere, was only too ready to elope with Paris; while Andromache and Cassandra represent women in whom the Puritan morality has taken root. *Troilus and Cressida*, for many reasons, is a difficult play to interpret; but it does suggest quite forcefully the differences that were beginning to arise between the Court Party and the Non-Conformists.

All's Well That Ends Well contains a strange reference to members of different sects. In a scene where the Countess of Rousillon, her Steward and La Vache, the clown, are present,¹⁸ La Vache, taking advantage of that license allowed jesters, is not speaking with the utmost propriety. At the end of a paradoxical argument he says:

"Young Charbon the puritan and old Poysam, the papist, howsome'er their hearts are sever'd in religion, their heads are both one; they may jowl horns together, like any deer i' the herd."

¹⁸Act I. sc. iii.

There is here a double meaning: they may lock horns in argument, and they both may have the horns of the cuckold. But what of the names "Charbon, the puritan" and "Poysam, the papist?" Some recent editors,¹⁹ following Malone's explanation that "Poysam" is a corruption of *poisson* (referring to the fish that Roman Catholics eat on certain prescribed days) and taking Aldis Wright's and Easy's emendation of "Charbon" to *chair-bonne* (referring to the flesh that the Protestants eat), have actually printed in their text:

"Young Chair-bonne the puritan and old Poisson the papist."²⁰

But why torture a perfectly good French word like *charbon* and try to make something else out of it just to make a contrast to the imaginary *poisson*, especially when they admit, "Shakespeare probably wrote 'Charbon'?"²¹ Malone's explanation that *Charbon* "refers to the fiery zeal of the Puritans" is also a possibility. It might, however, stand for the black gown that the Non-Conformist clergymen wore, especially since La Vache refers to such a black gown later in the same scene. The quality of blackness and that of hardness is often associated with the Puritan's religion; and so the allusion may be even more figurative.

Charbon, however, admits another explanation; and this concerns two sixteenth-century English clergymen of Non-Conformist tendencies of the name of Cole.

The first of these was Thomas Cole, who was born in Lincolnshire and attended King's College, Cambridge,²² where he received the degree of Master of Arts in 1550. He was afterwards master of the Maidstone School and then dean of Sarum. On the accession of Queen Mary he thought it prudent to remove to Frankfort. There he met John Knox. Later he moved to Geneva. Returning to England he became rector of High Ongar, Essex, in 1559. The following year he became prebendary of Rugmere in the Church of St. Paul. He subscribed to the original Thirty-nine articles as well as the petition for discipline presented by the lower house. He was made a Doctor of Divinity by Cambridge and became rector of Standford Rivers, Essex,

¹⁹Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch and John Dover Wilson.

²⁰*All's Well That Ends Well* (Cambridge, 1929), p. 14.

²¹*Op. cit.*, p. 128.

²²For this and the other facts of Thos. Cole's life my authority is *D. N. B.*, II: 273-274.

in 1564. Thomas Cole helped frame the Genevan form of worship. He was said to be an eloquent preacher of Non-Conformist tendencies. His death occurred in 1571. This worthy divine has been counfounded with another celebrated clergyman, William Cole.

William Cole, who like Thomas, was also a Doctor of Divinity, lived until 1600 and was president of Corpus Christi College, Oxford from 1568 until 1598 and dean of Lincoln from 1598 until the time of his death.²³ Since he had embraced reformed doctrines early in his career and become one of the Protestant leaders at Oxford, he was forced to flee when Mary became queen. He went to Zurich, where he assisted Coverdale, Whittingham and others in revising the English translation of the Bible. Upon his return to England, Queen Elizabeth appointed William Cole president of Corpus Christi College. Yet because the college was "popishly inclined,"²⁴ the gates had to be broken in before Cole could enter.

Now *All's Well That Ends Well* was very likely written during William Cole's lifetime or shortly after his death, and Shakspeare may well have had him in mind. But if this is so, why is the reference to "young Charbon?" William Cole could hardly have been young at the time: for he must have been in the neighborhood of seventy when he died. This may be merely a way of contrasting the newer Reformed Religion with the older Church of Rome but transferring the epithet from the sect to the person—"young Charbon the puritan and old Poysam the papist." It is also possible that the adjective "young" was used to distinguish him from the other Cole, Thomas, who was doubtless several years older.

The second reference made by La Vache to the Puritans occurs in the same scene.²⁵ The Countess wearies of his impudent conversation and says:

"You'll be gone, sir knave, and do as I command you."

²³For this and the other facts of Wm. Cole's life my authority is *D. N. B.*, II: 274-276.

²⁴Strype, *Annals*, I, i, 343.

²⁵Act I. sc. iii.

Clown. That man should be at woman's command, and yet no hurt done! Though honesty be no puritan, yet it will do no hurt; it will wear the surplice of humility over the black gown of a big heart.

The Puritan clergy preferred a black gown to the surplice, which they thought savored too much of Romanism. Nevertheless, they wore the surplice *over* the gown to conform, when they did conform, to the laws of the church. The allusion is not flattering to the Puritans.

Measure for Measure is Shakspeare's severest indictment of a certain type of Puritan. Angelo, the deputy of spotless reputation, is put by the Duke in charge of law enforcement in Vienna. There has been a certain laxity in law observance, and under the new administration an era of reform is promised. At first, with typical humility, possibly genuine in this case, Angelo voices a doubt as to his fitness for this high position:²⁶

"Now, my good Lord,
Let there be some more test made of my metal
Before so noble and so great a figure
Be stamp'd upon it."

The Duke will have no excuse, and Angelo enters upon his office. Reforms commence immediately but, as is usual in such cases, without absolute impartiality: all houses of ill-fame in the suburbs of the city are to be plucked down but not those in the city itself since "a wise burgher put in for them."²⁷ Now Angelo, with the typical zeal of the Puritan, is determined to deal in an exceedingly severe manner with infractions of the code of sexual morality. He invokes an old law and, pursuant to "the drowsy and neglected act"²⁷ still on the statute books but for many years unenforced, condemns Claudio to death. Vincentio, the Duke, considers Angelo well able to conduct the affairs of state but, nevertheless, remains in Vienna in disguise to see how a Precisian will act when given so much power. Says the Duke:²⁸

"Lord Angelo is precise,
Stands at a guard with envy, scarce confesses
That his blood flows, or that his appetite

²⁶Act I. sc. i.

²⁷Act I. sc. ii.

²⁸Act I. sc. iii.

Is more to bread than stone; hence we shall see,
If power change purpose, what our seemers be."

Isabella's pleas for the life of her brother fail to move Angelo. He would enforce the law and require the death penalty even if one of his kindred had committed the crime.²⁹ Bribery is apparently impossible: Angelo is the incorruptible judge. He appears to be harsh and merciless, but not wicked or dishonest. Then comes his downfall. In thinking over the nature of the crime that Claudio has committed, Angelo is influenced by base thoughts. Isabella's beauty appeals to him as her pleas have not. He tells her that the surrender of her chastity must be the price of her brother's release.³⁰

Having embarked on an evil course, he throws all restraints to the wind. He has been so used to the severest discipline and restraint that he cannot distinguish between a minor moral lapse and the utmost villainy. Once a breach is made in the wall of his morality, the whole edifice comes tumbling down; and he will not descend to the depths of iniquity alone but must drag others with him. He has not even the honesty to keep his part of the immoral bargain but intends to take Claudio's life after prostituting his sister.³¹ Fortunately, through the intervention of the Duke and Mariana the vicious plans of Angelo are circumvented, and the play is brought to a happy though not entirely satisfactory ending.

This, then, is Shakspeare's conception of the Puritan tyrant. It is not a pretty picture; and Angelo's pardon only shows the magnanimity of the Duke, although, after employing Angelo's discarded fiancée, Mariana, to take Isabella's place, he could hardly have done otherwise. Had Marlowe or Ben Jonson written the play, Angelo would have probably been tied up in a sack and thrown into the Danube. Shakspeare is kinder. Yet one can hardly doubt that he intended the monstrous deputy to represent the tyrannical Puritan: his very name is significant.

²⁹Act II. sc. ii.

³⁰Act II. sc. iv.

³⁰Act II. sc. iv.

³¹Act IV. sc. ii.

Hamlet, about which so much speculation has been rife, is crammed full of Shakspeare's philosophy; and it would be strange indeed if that play did not contain some inkling of the author's opinion about the political and religious division of English society. Passing over any bearing it may have on the war of the theatres or the doctrines of Montaigne,³² let us consider what *Hamlet* has to do with the political situation in England.

It will be recalled that the Danish Court in that play is represented as being thoroughly corrupt. The King, moreover,

"Keeps wassail, and the swaggering up-spring reels;
And, as he drains his draughts of Rhenish down,
The kettle-drum and trumpet thus bray out
The triumph of his pledge."³³

The quiet and studious Horatio, lately come from Wittenberg, is mildly shocked by the terrific din and inquires whether it is a custom. Prince Hamlet, a malcontent with many puritanical ideas, admits that it is, but adds that it is "More honor'd in the breach than the observance."³³ He then declares:

"This heavy-headed revel east and west
Makes us traduc'd and tax'd of other nations.
They clepe us drunkards, and with swinish phrase
Soil our addition."

Affairs do not improve. The revelry is followed by treachery, intrigue, and poisoning. In the last act, after the King and Queen and Laertes have died, as Hamlet lies dying he says:³⁴

"I cannot live to hear the news from England,
But I do prophesy the election lights
On Fortinbras."

Now this would seem to be a doubly prophetic passage: for it does not take any great stretch of the imagination to think of the people of the court in *Hamlet* as the Cavalier Party in England and the army of Fortinbras as the Puritan army under Cromwell. It was not until after Shakspeare's death that the Rebellion actually occurred; and many years were

³²Jacob Feis, *Shakespeare and Montaigne* (London, 1884).

³³Act I. sc. iv.

³⁴Act V. sc. ii.

to elapse before the final triumph of the Puritans; but the seeds of civil strife had been sown and were ready to spring up at a not-too-distant day.

In the dramatic romances Shakspeare does not seem to be greatly concerned with the differences between the Court Party and the Non-Conformists. There is, to be sure, an allusion to a Puritan in *The Winter's Tale*. The Clown says:³⁵

"She hath made me four-and-twenty nose-gays for the shearers, three-man song-man all, and very good ones; but they are most of them means and bases; but one puritan amongst them, and he sings psalms to hornpipes."

This recalls Falstaff's psalm-singing weaver.³⁶ It shows Shakspeare's distaste for this feature of the Puritan's worship.

Recently an attempt has been made to find some allusions to Calvinism in *The Tempest*.³⁷ To some this will seem far-fetched. The argument is as follows:

"The attack made upon Miranda by Caliban may be interpreted to mean the attack made upon the stage by the Puritans."³⁸

This is said to be so because "Caliban suggests 'Calvin' the Continental leader of Puritanism."³⁹ There are, of course, other reasons. Yet if Caliban is meant to suggest Calvin, can it also be an anagram of "cannibal"?

Caliban's attempted revolt from the rule of Prospero is then explained thus:

"The author [Shakspeare] recognizes that the great populace has been infected by the virus of Puritanism; the hewers of wood and drawers of water have accepted it as their form of religion."⁴⁰

Hostile as Shakspeare was to Puritanism, such plays as *The Puritan* and Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* were foreign to his nature. He was more interested in living characters than grotesque caricatures. Besides, he could not fail to see that the Puritans must counterbalance certain defects in the

³⁵Act IV. sc. iii.

³⁶See note 3.

³⁷Eva Turner Clark, *Hidden Allusions in Shakespeare's Plays* (New York, 1931).

³⁸Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 407.

³⁹Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 415.

⁴⁰Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 415.

Cavaliers' scheme of things. Accordingly, his disapproval was tempered with charity, and he refused to become ill-natured because the Puritans' opinions were not his. His view of the opposed factions in England was always sane and temperate.

Ben Jonson did not show such restraint; and, naturally, after the Restoration his *Bartholomew Fair* was revived. It might be supposed that it would have had the unqualified approval of all the adherents of the Court Party. Yet on account of its intemperance and abuse, it did not. Samuel Pepys enjoyed it tremendously, but he did not altogether approve of it. He saw it on the eighth of June, 1661, and wrote in his *Diary*.⁴¹

"I went to the Theatre and there saw Bartholomew Faire, the first time it was acted now-a-days. It is a most admirable play and well acted, but too much prophane and abusive."

And on September 4, 1668, having seen it again, he commented.⁴²

"It is an excellent play; the more I see it, the more I love the wit of it; only the business of abusing the Puritans begins to grow stale and of no use, they being the people that, at last, will be found the wisest."

Possibly Shakspeare's tolerance and good-humored satire were positively detrimental to the proper evaluation of his work by the critics and general public at the time of Charles II. After the strenuous and difficult days of the Civil War and the Commonwealth they may have desired more violent expressions of sentiment. Yet, with all his serenity, unlike the violence of his contemporaries, Shakspeare showed in no uncertain way his dislike of the Puritans and their growing power.

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⁴¹H. B. Wheatley, ed. (London, 1926), II, 47.

⁴²*Id.*, VIII, 92.

BEN JONSON, PATRIARCH OF SPEECH STUDY

By HENRY W. WELLS

SOME shrewd comments of the savants in *Love's Labour's Lost* stick in one's memory. Holofernes has discoursed to the pedant Nathaniel on the refined pronunciation of "debt" and "half". The two men have used a jumble of Latin, French and Spanish phrases. Moth observes: "They have been to a great feast of languages, and stolen the scraps." To which Costard adds, "O, they have lived long on the alms-basket of words." We are reminded that, for better or for worse, language has presumably never meant more to men than in the England of Shakspeare. Never was it used more colorfully or studied more zealously. For Humanism meant the study of man as the only speaking animal. In this golden age for language Shakspeare, of course, employed speech the most brilliantly; but it has too often been forgotten that Ben Jonson studied it the most consciously and profoundly. Despite all our learning in language, we still have much to glean from him. Of actual technique he can tell us little. But English history records no more inspiring figure of a man devoted to the deliberate study of English speech. No one has had a richer or more fascinating language than he to examine; no one has taken better advantage of an opportunity. To our language study he is what Bach is to music or Giotto to painting. But unhappily his achievements have in no field been adequately appreciated by recent commentators. The Augustan eighteenth century needed no commentary to understand him; the romantic nineteenth century could not have understood him well, even if the best commentary had existed. Our own generation has too often simply neglected him. The present essay aims to express the spirit of this great lover of language, to depict the relation between the man Jonson and the world of English speech. He is the forefather of all our speech study, and there is good ground for being satisfied with such a patriarch.

He must have sucked in the love of words as a child. Legend pictures him as a bricklayer with a trowel in one hand and a volume of the classics in the other. The picture

is, no doubt, a fabrication, even though he later laid on his own English words with a trowel. Probability points rather to his endowment with a remarkable ear for speech. As his mind developed, his studies revolved about two distinct poles, the classics and spoken English. Unlike so many of his fellow-countrymen, he cared little for the modern languages abroad. Well as he knew the older English poets, he acknowledged no real classics in his own language. It was his aim to lead, not to follow his contemporaries. Primarily English was for him a language which others spoke and he also wrote. Still further, unlike many of the Elizabethans, he was scarcely distinguished as a translator. The passages in his works directly imitated from the classics tend to be the duller parts of his writing. His critics have hardly observed clearly enough that much as his philosophy of life, art and even of language owes to the ancients, the pedant in Jonson was the student of the past, the inspired thinker, the observer of the present. Bookishness was indeed his occasional fault, but the author of the great comedies was one of the liveliest of all lovers of speech.

As a student of language, Jonson became both a great rhetorician and an exact observer. He also had diabolical powers in caricature and parody. Hence he is to be regarded as a pioneer in language study not for his *English Grammar*, interesting as that is, but for his plays. He wrote no formal books on dialects, class distinctions in speech, the language of the professions, speech as expressive of personality, the tone qualities of voices or allied fields. But his plays are effective monuments to his learning and insight into all these domains. Throughout his plays, too, it becomes apparent that while he used books zealously as secondary sources, he assimilated far more through the ear than through the eye. Like all true Elizabethans, he had a passion for the spoken word.

Since we are primarily interested here in his exact observations, it is well to take a preliminary glance at his own art in rhetoric and caricature. As a rule, his plays do not reproduce popular speech; they utilize it to their own ends. Common expressions are incorporated in the most uncommon and artificial flights of rhetoric and outbursts of caricature and parody. Jonson likes to endow all his chief char-

acters with his own prodigious eloquence. They are fond of making long speeches rounded into formal periods. Thus Jonson translating Cicero into blank verse, and Jonson writing speeches for the pig-woman in *Bartholomew Fair*, have much in common. It has often been remarked that his characters are not real people. Of course they are not; and neither do his speeches constitute real talk. On the solid foundations of science he erected the pleasure-house of his art. There is, happily, not a single page of natural dialogue in his works. While Shakspeare minted new worlds of language, he achieved a compromise. On the one hand, he was artist enough to transform his material; on the other, he was scientist enough to leave the strongest traces of actuality upon the transformation. On the enduring marble of his own rhetoric he carved the passing speech of the people. For him the theatre became a laboratory of speech.

A further word of introduction is required regarding his use of written and spoken sources. I have observed that he prefers the latter, but by no means neglects the former. The distinction, indeed, becomes at times super-subtle, since, for example, he may either have read or heard a sermon or a play. Where gentlemen attempt to imitate in their talk the dialogue in Lyly, Sidney or Greene, there is no telling precisely what in Jonson parodies the books or the men. In the case of the playwrights the conversation was certainly important, since the attacks of one dramatist upon another in that lively period were more often personal than literary or professional. None the less, it is apparent that Jonson disliked the dramatic style of Marston and Dekker, holding their language up to ridicule. When he gives Dol Common sentences to quote from Broughton's sermons, he expresses his contempt for those pious writings. Even in his plays the author of *Discoveries* shows himself as an esthetic critic. In this book, for instance, he condemns the reckless use of metaphor. The rôle of Carlo Buffone abundantly illustrates this vice. Pedantic speech he ridicules in the rôle of Sir John Daw.

The amused and diligent student of speech is everywhere revealed in his plays. One of the most obvious manifestations is his concern with languages. His characters quote

Latin, Spanish, French and even Greek. In his *Masque of Gypsies* we have snatches of the gypsy language. He gives some attention to dialects and mispronunciation. In *Bartholomew Fair* we encounter a clothier who uses northern forms and a wrestler who employs southern ones. Kentish dialect is used effectively to lend rustic atmosphere to *The Tale of a Tub*. The bawd, Whit, in *Bartholomew Fair*, uses forms now difficult to locate. Haggise and Bristle, two constables in the same play, talk English with a Welsh accent. The sum total of dialect parts in Jonson is not great nor easily studied from the folio text, but it proves indicative of other branches of speech study much more fruitful for the dramatist.

He shows the keenest interest in the usages of the different classes in society. Persons from the country, as Sordido, Sogliardo, Kastrill, Dame Pliant, Stephen and others, are homely in their speech. A staid country gentleman, as Puntarvolo, is depicted as quaint, old-fashioned and over-elegant, clinging primly to the fine manners of a decade or two past. The relatively feeble and insipid speech of illiterate merchants and citizens is finely caricatured in Dapper and Drugger. Courtly and aristocratic language receives severe criticism in rôles such as Saviolina and Fastidious Brisk in *Every Man Out of His Humour*, and Amorphus and his companions in *Cynthia's Revels*. Jonson emphasizes that Morose, eccentric hero of *Epicene*, has learnt his own diffuse eloquence at Court. Courtly speech, such as the dramatist apparently approves may be found in Volpone's conference with Celia, as well, of course, as in many scenes of state in *Catiline* and *Sejanus*. The dramatist's principal harangues fall under two heads: those of passion and those of reason. The former are bookish imitations of the high style of the ancients, which Jonson was not poet enough to sustain. An instance in this field, uncommonly favorable to him, is the oration of Petreius describing the death of Catiline. As good specimens of his reasoning style one may turn to the speeches of Tiberius and the historian, Cremutius Cordus, before the Senate in *Sejanus*. Such a style as that of Tiberius and Cordus was indicative of the Augustan prose to succeed the Cavalier prose of Jonson's own period.

Peculiarities of speech brought about by professional and

vocational life constitute a still more important phase of the poet's observations. Professional dignity he spares no more than his most eminent successor, Bernard Shaw. He delights in satirical portraits of lawyers—an itch for caricature which caused much friction in his own career. "Well worded and most like an orator", says a character in *Sejanus*, when Afer with his "bloodying tongue" has completed one of his ridiculous periods. A similar fatuous volubility adorns the lines of Voltore in his scene before the court in *Volpone*. The cant of the judiciary also appears in the legalistic phrases of Judge Overdo.

Medicine, reduced to racketeering, gives us the excellent scene in the same play where Volpone impersonates the mountebank. Here Jonson shows pecuniary profit as mother of eloquence. We hear an advertising talk on a fake medicine couched in language not unlike the Book of Revelations. Jonson was later to do much the same thing in other rôles, as that of Subtle in *The Alchemist* and the host of boothkeepers in *Bartholomew Fair*. The canting eloquence of the military profession, where spurious pretenders attempt to cozen their auditors, produces such rôles as Bobadill in *Every Man in His Humour* and Shift in *Every Man Out of His Humour*. Captain Tucca, the liveliest character in *The Poetaster*, is evidently drawn from the life, since Dekker wrote: "But I wonder what language Tucca would have spoke, if honest Captain Hannam had been born without a tongue." Subtle is not only a low cheater but a debased scientist. Jonson hugely relishes the somewhat pornographic imagery of the alchemist's closet. The jargon of sport he studies at considerable length in the part of Knockem, the horse-courser. Every sentence reeks of race-track and stable. But the great ocean of words flowing from the font of religion chiefly arrests the playwright. The finest of Jonson's perceptions of actual speech appear in the rôles of his Puritans, as Ananias, Tribulation Wholesome, Dame Purecraft, and above all, Zeal-of-the-Land Busy. The eloquence is obviously that of the spoken word. No doubt Jonson read the Puritan preachers; but it remains clear that he knew this section of society better by what he heard than by what he read. The force of his phrasing de-

pends upon speech rhythm and tone. "Very likely, exceeding likely, very exceeding likely," roars the prolix Busy as he meditates upon the possibility of Win-the-Fight Littlewit bearing a son endowed with an appetite for Bartholomew pig equal to that of its mother. Jonson takes no end of joy in the mild distortion of the already distorted eloquence of his reforming fellow-citizens.

Still more important for him as a lover of speech is his realization of language as an expression not of locality, class or profession, but of personality. Although most of his rôles are endowed with Jonsonian eloquence, almost every one of them has distinguishing speech characteristics. One needs only to read or hear a sentence or two in order to identify the speaker. This is simply the playwright's way of expounding the text of the long sermon of his life: "Speak that I may know thee; language best showeth the man." One notes the quiet confidence of Face, the smooth insinuations of Subtle yielding on occasions to hysterical shouting, the sneering of Surly, the shrieking of those irate females, Fallace and the parrot-like Lady Pol, the specious fluency of Morose, the vulgar prattle of Otter and his wife, the bombast of Cutbeard, the bastard poetry of Carlo Buffone, the ranting of the mad preacher, Arthur of Bradley (heard in the speeches of the sober preacher Overdo when in disguise), the fulminations of Busy, the waspishness of Wasp, the shrill piping of the child-puppet Dionysius, the vulgar familiarity of Shift and the loud tones of the half-deaf man, Corbaccio. Of special interest is Bartholomew Cokes, hero of *Bartholomew Fair*. This stupid, ill-educated youth always has a repetitious manner, with addictions to certain mild schoolboy oaths. The part is important, not in pointing to any special class, profession or locality, nor even in being of the class of foolish youths. Were a thousand such youths to speak in succession we could easily identify Cokes by his favorite expressions. The rôle became a famous one and well loved by actors. In the drama of the period it is one of the subtlest and most mature studies in characterization through speech. It was the last great rôle of this sort to come from Jonson's pen.

Throughout the preceding paragraph emphasis fell rather

on the manner of speaking than on the words or their pronunciation. And this is the cardinal point regarding Ben Jonson and English speech. He had perhaps the most attentive and appreciative ear that English history records. Everything points to his consciousness of the significance of the sound of the human voice. Indeed he enjoyed a phenomenal ear for all sounds. The musicians with whom he collaborated were among his best friends. No one has written words for music more successfully than the chief author of the Court masques and the poet of "Drink to me only with thine eyes." He fully understood the technique required of the madrigal poet. In his plays he rejoices in stage noises, as the explosion of Subtle's furnace, the mob shouting in *Bartholomew Fair*, and the instrumental tumult, rather than music, brought in to celebrate Morose's wedding. He apparently thought of each character first of all as a way of speaking. The voices of his characters were conceived as so many distinct instruments in the symphony that was his play. No wonder that Richard Strauss has recently made a light opera out of that *sinfonia domestica*, *The Silent Woman*. The rôle of Epicene affords a good test case. Its point lies in the contrast between her modest whisperings before marriage and her tumultuous clatter thereafter. But more interesting, because more uncommon, is the part of Corbaccio, probably the first deaf person shown on the English stage. This worthy himself is evidently intended to shout and is similarly shouted at by his interlocutors. Moreover, the latter, with perfect impunity, in merely ordinary tones, say the most damaging things about him before his face. Ursula, the pig-woman, is a fountain of foul eloquence, stale as her cheap beer, and Wasp a hatefully insistent, buzzing insect. Morose is entirely a study in speech. He is the man who loves his own voice and hates the voices of all others. How Jonson commonly conceives a part may be seen in the rôle of Puntarvolo in the tavern scene of *Bartholomew Fair*. The dramatist makes it abundantly clear that the proud old knight talks in the driest and most austere tones, in complete contrast to the drunken eloquence of the unfortunate Carlo. Not even satisfied with the sonorous part of Carlo as it stood, Jonson imagines him in the tavern as carrying on an imaginary dialogue ending in a quarrel between two cups on the table before him.

Contrast supplies the essentially dramatic touch, As a successful playwright Jonson was not content merely to create characters through the medium of modulated speech. His medium demanded that he should exhibit them in contrast, and this he proceeded to do upon a veritably heroic scale. It was his pleasure to accent the differences between the speech of man and man. *Bartholomew Fair*, like a comic opera by Mozart, ends with a sublime trio. Here Zeal-of-the-Land Busy has the bass, the irate piping of the puppet Dionysius supplies the treble, while the ordinary voice of the puppet-manager, Leatherhead, affords the mean between them. The scene becomes an ideal specimen of Elizabethan polyphonics. A similar arrangement appears in *The Alchemist*, where Subtle has the treble, Sir Epicure Mammon the bass and Face the mean. Some fine contrapuntal scoring appears in the last scene of *Epicene*, where the barber and the sea-captain, disguised as civil and ecclesiastical lawyers, carry on antiphonal chanting in a medley of English and Latin, punctuated by the pathetic pleading of Morose and the accompaniment of the whole assembly of miscellaneous characters. Jonson provides that the height of the crescendo shall be reached when, like a bursting dam, the three "collegiate ladies" come shrieking unto the scene. Earlier in the play is a simpler but equally artful passage, a duet between Truewit and Morose. For the first half of the scene Morose curses his deceitful barber while Truewit piously confirms all that is said; then, at the turning point, Morose sinks back exhausted, calling for silence. This greatest of blessings Truewit by no means intends to confer upon the old man, and the same rhythms now repeat themselves, Truewit taking up the profaneness while Morose vainly attempts to check a torrent of abuse even fiercer than his own. Thus Jonson makes language a new music, just as Byrd, Gibbons and the Elizabethan composers were making music a new language. This skill became the ultimate esthetic achievement of the chief realist among the Elizabethan dramatists. His plays are vast fugues based upon themes of real speech.

No one has ever been a more enlightened or imaginative student of speech, studied his theme more closely or pursued it with greater pleasure to himself and to others.

While Shakspeare conquered new worlds for language, Jonson set the old one in order. He is not only the father to the long line of the scholars of English speech. We can no more say that we study the subject to better purpose than he than that modern composers surpass Bach or modern painters excel Dürer. The precise character of his achievement as regards language has been too little examined not only by readers and playwrights but by linguists. Nor is there any ground why he should receive greater homage in England than in America. Indeed his realistic attitude toward expanding Jacobean English strikingly foreshadows much of the most recent American speech study. And only in a community with a philosophy of language as dynamic as Jonson's can a new Jonson arise.

*Columbia University,
New York, N. Y.*

THE 17TH CENTURY FOLIOS

The Modern Language Association of America is to be congratulated on the publication of one of the most scholarly books relating to Shakspeare in the year 1937. In their book, *Shakespeare's Seventeenth-Century Editors*,* Doctors Matthew W. Black and Matthias A. Shaaber, both of the University of Pennsylvania, have performed a service to Shaksperian scholarship of incalculable value both for its completeness, thoroughness, and accuracy. No scholar interested in es-

tablishing the genuine text of any passage in a Shaksperian play can possibly ignore this book. Even a general reader, interested in scientific method, will find it worth his while to read the preliminary matter carefully, even if he learns from it only how easily erroneous statements about scholarly matters have their origin and with what vitality they continue to obstruct the ascertainment of the truth.

**Shakespeare's Seventeenth-Century Editors, 1632-1685*, by M. W. Black & M. A. Shaaber, 1937, pp. xii, 420; \$3.

EDITORIAL NOTES

By S. A. T.

NEW SHAKSPERE SIGNATURES

On January 20th of this year the *New York Times* carried an announcement of "another signature" of William Shakspeare which had been discovered somewhere by a friend of Professor B. Roland Lewis of the University of Utah. The signature is said to read "William Shakspeare" and to be on a piece of paper "eight by two inches, apparently cut off an old document." The report, saturated with errors, went on to say that Professor Lewis had given "the sheared-off piece of manuscript" nineteen months of study, including chemical, microscopical and photographic analyses, and had concluded that the person who had written the "six definitely known" Shakspeare signatures also wrote this one.

Even without having seen this alleged signature or a facsimile of it, we are ready to express our conviction that it is *in all probability* either a forgery, a hoax, or an innocent imitation, and not a genuine Shakspeare autograph. The arguments urged by Professor Lewis for its authenticity, as reported in the *Times*, prove nothing, absolutely nothing. Genuine paper of the early seventeenth century is easily obtainable. Books of that period are easily obtainable which have one or more partially or wholly blank fly-leaves; old documents are easily purchasable from which smaller or larger pieces of paper or parchment may be cut by a person planning to perpetrate a forgery. A visitor to the Folger Library, or the Library of Congress, or one of the university libraries, can easily cut off a margin from a leaf in an old book if he plans to fabricate a forged "signature"; and so forth. Ink of Shakspeare's day cannot be differentiated from some

modern inks. The exact composition of Elizabethan and Jacobean inks is known and can be easily duplicated. Quill pens are easily obtainable today. The absence of pencil marks under the ink proves nothing; a single signature, especially one written so slowly and carefully (comparatively speaking) as Shakspeare's, can be easily imitated after a little practice.

A new Shakspeare signature must be regarded as spurious if it is not an integral part of a document or book with a history free from suspicious circumstances. Shakspeare's seven (not six) known signatures are part and parcel of legal documents of unquestioned validity and of a copy of Montaigne's *Essays* which was known to be in existence before Steevens and Ireland played their malicious pranks. It is utterly incredible that any person in the eighteenth, nineteenth or twentieth centuries would have been so stupid as to cut a Shakspeare signature from a genuine deed, mortgage, letter, receipt, book, etc., and throw the rest—the authenticating part of the document—away. This consideration *per se* is sufficient ground for not accepting as genuine a purported signature on a sheared-off piece of paper. This attitude is further justified by the reflection that a forgery of a signature is very much easier than of a long document. A long forgery involves a knowledge of palæography, spelling, grammar, semantics, history, etc.,—matters which have led to the exposure of the most expert forgers.

A point which deserves mention is this: books containing forged Shakspeare autographs made by William H. Ireland keep turning up in the book auctions every now and then. Some of these may get into the hands of unscrupulous persons who would not hesitate to cut the "signature" out of

the book and attempt to sell it to a gullible collector, an innocent scholar, or an enthusiastic librarian.

In conclusion we may add that the above remarks apply not only to the "signature" now sponsored by Professor Lewis but also to the alleged Shakspeare signature recently discovered in a scrap-book in San Francisco and now owned (and apparently cherished) by Leland Stanford University. Study of photographs (including an enlargement) of this signature has confirmed us in our prior suspicion of its spuriousness!

HELP, ANGELS!

Some of our members may recall that at various times these pages acknowledged our indebtedness to the Carnegie Corporation for grants of funds enabling us to publish our annual bibliographies. Upon the death of Dr. Thorndike, the Corporation renewed its grant with great reluctance and with the assurance that there would be no further grants. Our Association's treasury now holds a balance of \$544.53 of Carnegie money. With the publication of the 1938 January and April issues of the BULLETIN—two issues largely devoted to bibliography—none of this money will be left. The annual dues paid by the members are not sufficient to cover the cost of printing and distributing the four quarterly issues of our BULLETIN. What this means is, therefore, that unless the Carnegie Corporation or someone else will endow the Association with a thousand dollars a year, we shall have to reduce the size of the BULLETIN to 32 pages per issue or publish only two numbers a year. Either of these courses would not only make it impossible for us to publish the many interesting and scholarly articles on Shaksperian and other Eliza-

bethan topics which we now have on hand and which are being sent us, but would also terminate our hope of enlarging the scope and usefulness of our magazine. In this connection we may be permitted to say that a large percentage of our subscribers are university libraries throughout the world,—significant testimony of the value of our publication.

We, therefore, make this appeal for financial assistance by some individual, group or association. In making this appeal, we think it not superfluous to add that no person connected with the publication of the BULLETIN, except the printer and the firm which attends to the stamping and mailing, is paid even a penny for his services.

MEMBERS OF OUR CAUSE

In the preceding paragraph we made no mention of another way of assuring the continuance of our BULLETIN in its present size and discharging its present function, to wit: by the enrollment of a large number of new paying members. Five hundred would answer the immediate purpose. In a country of a population of 120,000,000, having several hundred thousand teachers, there ought to be no difficulty in finding 500 to 1,000 new members in an association dedicated to the promotion of an interest in the work of the greatest poet and dramatist of all time, the one writer whose works can always be read with delight and profit. To secure this number every member ought to write to his friends, to his ex-teachers, or to his associates and urge them to join the Association. To help in this matter we will gladly send a sample copy of our BULLETIN, together with a membership blank, to anyone whose name and address you will send us.

April, 1938

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Index of Names and Subjects in the
1937 Bibliography

I Will Try Confusions With Him

Another Medieval Convention in Shakspeare

Shakspeare's "Golden World"

Hardy and Shakspeare Again

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The Shakespeare Association of America aims to unite all the lovers of the poet and to encourage and enlarge the widespread interest in his works. It will serve as a means of communication in the Shakesperian world, reporting what is being done in his honor or service, whether on the stage or in the schoolroom, in club or in university. Its purpose includes co-operation in every enterprise that will be helpful to a knowledge of the man and his works, whether scholarly, educational, or theatrical.

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ANOTHER MEDIEVAL CONVENTION IN SHAKSPERE

By ERNEST H. COX

IN recent years scholarship has done much to project Shakspeare against a background of medieval thought and convention. In 1916 Professor Frank A. Patterson pointed out the presence in Shakspeare of several reflections of lyric forms of the Middle Ages.¹ Since his study there have been numerous other suggestions as to conventional medieval elements in Shakspeare. In 1922 Professor W. W. Lawrence urged that, to a great degree, in literary criticism "the conventions of the Middle Ages may properly be applied to literature of the age of Elizabeth."² Last year another scholar called attention to the persistence in Elizabethan tragedy of the *contemptu mundi* theme, and he mentioned as an example the meditation of Hamlet over Yorick's skull.³ In this particular Shaksperian passage we have not only a recurrence of a medieval theme, but also what should be of even greater interest to the student of Shakspeare: the expression of that theme in a conventional medieval manner—a fact which appears to have escaped general observation.

One of the rhetorical frameworks to which the *contemptu mundi* theme clung most tenaciously is well known as the *ubi sunt* formula. This formula achieved tremendous popularity in the Middle Ages and appeared in various types of medieval literature. More than that, it persisted in Renaissance literature to such an extent and in such notable literary productions as to make it one of the significant contributions of medieval convention to Renaissance expression.

Among the three or four well-defined patterns of the *ubi sunt* formula there is one which inquires after the pleasures

¹Frank A. Patterson, "Shakspeare and the Medieval Lyric," *Shaksperian Studies* (N. Y.: Columbia University Press, 1916), pp. 431-452.

²W. W. Lawrence, "The Meaning of *All's Well that Ends Well*," *PMLA*, XXXVII (1922), 440-441.

³Willard Farnham, *The Medieval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1936), p. 40.

and possessions of those who have been long dead. Hawks and hounds, castles and towers, and the eating, drinking, and laughter of the hall are details which become highly conventionalized. The detail which is of present interest concerns merry-making in the great hall. "Where," asks the poet of the Old English *The Wanderer*, "has gone the banquet place? Where are the joys of the hall?"⁴ A very similar question is asked by an anonymous poet of the thirteenth century. After he has inquired for those who have lived before him—those who led the hounds and bore the hawks, who possessed field and wood; the rich ladies who wore golden ornaments and had bright countenances—the poet asks,

Were is þat lawing and þat song?⁵

In one of the versions of the *Debate of the Body and Soul*, the soul, after taunting the body for its loss of pride and of such possessions as rich clothes, proud palfreys, greyhounds, falcons, towers, and high halls, inquires,

Where are þy glemen, þat shulde þe glewe
wiþ harpe and lute and tabourete?
þe piperes, þat þo bagges blewe . . .?⁶

In Skelton's elegy on Edward IV, the body of the king is made to lament the loss of its earthly possessions after this fashion:

Where is now my conquest and victory?
Where is my riches and royal aray?
Wher be my coursers and my horses hye,
Where is my myrth, my solas, and my play?
As Vanyte, to nought al is wandred away.⁷

With these several passages in mind, one almost feels that, when Hamlet meditates over one skull:

⁴Ll. 92-93.

⁵Carleton Brown, ed., *English Lyrics of the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1932), p. 85.

⁶Hermann Varnhagen, ed., "Zu Mittelenglischen Gedichten," *Anglia*, II (1879), 229-230.

⁷Alexander Dyce, ed., *The Poetical Works of John Skelton* (London, 1843), 2 vols., I, 4.

Why may that not be the skull of a lawyer? Where
be his quiddities now, his quillets, his cases, his
tenures, and his tricks?⁸

and more particularly when he addresses to Yorick's skull
such queries as:

Where be your gibes now? your gambols? your
songs? your flashes of merriment, that were wont
to set the table on a roar? Not one now,
to mock your own grinning? quite chapfallen?⁹

he is falling into a manner of speech already familiar to the
literature. Without insisting, however, upon the significance
of what, after all, is possibly nothing more than an interest-
ing similarity of situations and expressions, we come to a
relationship for which a stronger claim can be made.

A second, and more frequently used, pattern of the *ubi
sunt* formula is one in which the names of long-gone heroes
are called in catalogue fashion. The origin of the conven-
tion is unknown, but an early illustration of it occurs in
Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*:

Where are now the bones of staunch Fabricius?
Where is now Brutus, or stern Cato?¹⁰

A Latin hymn of the eleventh century begins,

Where is Plato? Where is Porphyrius?
Where is Tullius, or Virgil?

and stretches the list out to include such renowned ancients
as Thales, Empedocles, Aristotle, Alexander, Hector,
David, Solomon, Helen, and Paris.¹¹ The thirteenth-century
"Cur Mundus Militat" of Jacopone da Todi inquires after
Solomon, Samson, Absalom, Jonathan, Cæsar, Dives, Cicero,
and Aristotle.¹² Such catalogues are numerous in the Middle
Ages. That of Thomas de Hales includes Paris, Helen,
Amadis, Tristram, Ysolt, Hector, and Cæsar.¹³ In the fif-
teenth century, Jacob Ryman and John Lydgate have no-

⁸V, i, 106-09.

⁹V, i, 208-212.

¹⁰Book II, Metre 7, Ll. 15-18.

¹¹Appendix to *The Parlement of the Thre Ages*, ed., Israel Gollancz, no pagination.

¹²F. A. March, ed., *Latin Hymns* (N. Y.: Harpers, 1891), p. 176.

¹³Carleton Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

table lists.¹⁴ One of Lydgate's passages inquires after Cæsar, Lucan, Octavian, Cicero, Seneca, Cato, and Trajan.¹⁵

It may be observed, further, that the list of worthies was often used illustratively, without the interrogative form. There is an excellent instance of this in Barclay's adaptation of Brandt's *Ship of Fools*:

Take thou example by Julius cesar
That of the worlde duryng a whyle was sure
And many kynges subduyd by myght of warre
And of the Empyre had lordshyp charge cure
But this his myght great space dyd not endure. . . .

This example is followed by those of Darius, Xerxes, Nebuchadnezzar, Alexander, Cræsus, and Cyrus; and there is presently a fully developed *ubi sunt* passage.¹⁶ Such verses as employ the list without the question form state directly what the regular formula implies. There are numerous examples of this sort of literary convention, a notable one being in William Dunbar.¹⁷

In all these catalogues of names, whether in question form or not, two of the worthies whose names appear most frequently are Julius Cæsar and Alexander. They seem to have been most popular, also, as the *ubi sunt* convention moved on into the Renaissance. In an elegy by George Whetstone, we have the two, with Pompey added:

What did become of Cæsar's clymyng head,
Of Pompey's rule, and Alexander's raigne?
A light account, so soone as they were dead. . . .¹⁸

Another elegy, whose authorship is unknown, thus couples the two worthies in rhyme:

¹⁴For the Ryman verses, see J. Zupitza, ed., "Die Gedichte des Franziskaners Jakob Ryman," *Archiv*, LXXXIX (1892), 256. The formula is found in Lydgate's "As a Midsomer Rose." Shee H. N. McCracken, ed., *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate* (London: Early English Text Society, 1934), pp. 780-785.

¹⁵*The Fall of Princes*, ll. 4495-4515.

¹⁶Sebastian Brandt, *The Ship of Fools* (trans. A. Barclay; Edinburgh: Paterson, 1874), I, 268-269.

¹⁷John Small, ed., *The Poems of William Dunbar* (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1893), II, 74.

¹⁸T. Park, *Heliconia*, II, 12.

Men speake of Hector, of Achilles stoute;
 Ofte have I heard of Alexanders name;
 Of Ajax, Pyrrhus, all the Gretian route;
 Of Scipio, Pompey, and of Cæsar's fame;
 Yet that this one is dead, it greeves me more,
 Then all the rest, whome I have nam'd before.¹⁹

Samuel Rowlands has an elaborate *ubi sunt* passage, in which he inquires after Methuselah and the patriarchs, Samson, Absalom, Hector, Hercules, Pompey, and Achilles. His concluding lines are:

Where marcheth Alexander with his drum,
 To Cæsar's scepter who doth yeeld or bow;
 Where are those great and mighty conquering ones?
 Time, shew an ounce of all their bones.²⁰

Christopher Lever, in an elegy on Queen Elizabeth, asks:

Where is the honor of great Macedon,
 That measur'd his large empires with his sworde?
 Great Julius is with many Caesars gone,
 Leaving no more of honor than the word;
 And but the pennes of schollars that record,
 Old Time would bring their honor to that shame,
 As Cæsar and the rest would have no name.

Who is't that now to Caesar bends the knee,
 Or frames the sweete of wordes to please his eare?
 Who is't that now regardeth his decree,
 Or his offended countenance doth feare?
 Cæsar in's grave, his honor is no where:
 If honour thus doe perish in the best,
 What may be then expected of the reste?²¹

Robert Southwell's use of the theme is somewhat similar:

Though all the East did quake to hear
 Of Alexander's dreadful name,
 And all the West did likewise fear
 To hear of Julius Cæsar's fame,

¹⁹"Verses upon the Report of the Death of the Right Honorable the Lord of Essex," *Ballads from Manuscripts* (ed. F. J. Furnivall), II, 227.

²⁰Samuel Rowlands, "A Bloudy Battell betwixt Time and Death," *Works* (Hunterian Club), I, 25-26.

²¹"Queen Elizabeth's Teares," *Miscellanies of the Fuller Worthies' Library*, III, 679-680.

Yet both by Death in dust now lie;
Who then can 'scape, but he must die?²²

It is into the convention demonstrated by the foregoing passages that Hamlet falls when he reaches the climax of his grotesque logic:

Alexander died, Alexander was buried, Alexander
returneth into dust; the dust is earth; of earth
we make loam; and why of that loam, whereto he was
converted, might they not stop a beer-barrel?
Imperious Cæsar, dead and turn'd to clay,
Might stop a hole to keep the wind away:
O, that that earth, which kept the world in awe,
Should patch a wall t' expel the winter's flaw!²³

*Mary Hardin-Baylor College,
Belton, Texas.*

²²W. H. Turnbull, ed., *The Poetical Works of the Rev. Robert Southwell* (London: Smith, 1856), pp. 137-138.

²³V, i, 231-239.

SHAKSPERE RESARTUS

By ELEANOR CLARK

THERE is no better way to treat William Shakspeare than to take what he has to say about men and affairs seriously home to our contemporary business and bosom. That the Mercury Theatre has attempted, by various directorial devices, to apply the woes of a Roman civil war, following the murder of Cæsar, to the actual and potential woes of our own times is wholly to their credit. They have, moreover, our gracious permission to add a second feather to the scanty forest on their caps, with a couple of provincial roses thrown in for good measure, in recognition of their courage in abolishing the trappings and suits of Roman woe. Shakspeare has a far better chance in a navy pin-stripe informal than ever he had in the velvet petticoat in which Maurice Evans insinuated his way into the susceptible hearts of our bourgeois little old New York. But when one has conceded these two good intentions to the Mercury outfit, one has done what one could for them, realizing sadly, as one must, that the road to hell is paved with such intentions.

There is in Ireland a phrase that happily fits Mr. Welles's attempt to make Shakspeare's seething condemnation of a gang of murderers into a burble of adolescent frustration. When an Irishman braces himself to some Herculean task—say, like "braining a bull with a limb of an apple tree" or "spitting in a tiger's eye," his heart is never daunted, for he knows that if the task can be done "by main strength and ignorance" he will be equal to it. So with Mr. Welles: if violence to the text of Shakspeare and sheer ignorance *could* make a fascist out of Cæsar and a booby out of Brutus, then Mr. Welles might have succeeded. Happily, the impossible cannot be achieved even by "main strength and ignorance." Besides, is Mr. Welles Irish?

Among all the insinuating, rationalizing rogues from which Shakspeare has stripped the mask of plausible manners to show us their hideous, pocky interiors, none seems to the

present writer quite so terrifying as Brutus. Shakspeare is not at his best when presenting an "out and out" villain like Iago or Edmund or Iachimo. Persons who are obviously bad do not interest him enough to make them convincing. But when he undertakes to lay about him against a hypocrite, one who "smiles and smiles" while doing his villany, one casts one "drooping eye" on the sins or weaknesses of his victims while keeping the other "auspicious eye" open for his own advantage, then he seems to take the button off the foil and he hits to kill. So he did with Brutus, who breathes the pieties of friendship while plotting with those he knows to be the envious enemies of his friend. To the "world" Brutus assumes the rôle of tyrannicide, but to himself, when entirely alone, he admits that Cæsar has shown no signs of tyranny, or as Mr. Welles would probably call it, of fascism; he has thrice refused a coronet, has never allowed his "affections to sway more than his reason" and has exhibited always a becoming lowliness of manner" both to his peers and to those of inferior station, reserving his scorn only for the "base spaniel-fawning" of flatterers and cringers.

But what if he *should* in the future decide to accept a crown? What if our children should put peas up their noses? Though they have never shown any signs of such an intention, the very thought of it is enough to prompt us to kill them at once to save all possible inconvenience both to themselves and us. So with Brutus, who proceeds to rationalize his treachery by opining that a crown "*might* change his nature" so that he *may* do danger." "Then," says Brutus, "lest he *may*, prevent."

This is like the new version of the Mikado, who declares:

My object all sublime
Has changed in course of time;
The punishment now precedes the crime,
It now precedes the crime.

Brutus specifically states that "since the quarrel will bear no colour for the thing he [Cæsar] is, "it must be fashioned thus: that what he *is*, augmented, *would* run to these and these extremities." These are, of course, not specified

because they are not yet in existence. Nevertheless, Brutus decides to "think of him as a serpent's egg which, hatched, *would*, as his kind, grow mischievous." So, he must "kill him in the shell."

To be sure, if these lines are omitted, then Brutus might be portrayed as an adolescent nincompoop who does not know what he really thinks. But the lines were omitted by Mr. Welles, not by Mr. Shakspeare.

We must not, however, be too hard on Mr. Welles for these expurgations, for after all, he is only a boy and obviously in beyond his depth. How could such dreadful, deceitful words come out of an innocent face like his? His boyish mind could not even grasp such wickedness, no, not even in a murderer. Of course, Cassius is not so young, nor so pure as Mr. Welles; so he sees right through the hypocritical self-justifying of this "subtle master." As Brutus leaves him, Cassius observes drily, "Well, Brutus, thou art noble; yet I see thy honourable metal may be wrought from that it is disposed." There, he opines cynically, "it is meet that noble minds keep ever with their likes," for Oh la! "who so firm that cannot be seduced?" Fie upon this naughty world!

It is well that Cassius, via Mr. Gabel, did not shrug his shoulders at this point. The audience might have suspected Brutus as Cassius did, even though Mr. Welles continued to expurgate incriminating self-accusations like Brutus's determination to "mask the monstrous visage" of his conspiracy and hide it in smiles and affability. There Brutus takes his place alongside of Claudius and Macbeth, and, like them, he knows that if the plotters put their "native semblance on", "not Erebus itself were dim enough to hide" them. Mr. Welles also cuts out Brutus's obscene joking about Cæsar's murder. Casca observes with brutal frivolity, "Why, he that cuts off twenty years of life, cuts off so many years of fearing death." Brutus replied, "Grant that, and then is death a benefit; so are we Cæsar's friends that have abridged his time of fearing death." At precisely this point, Mr. Welles also omitted Brutus's filthy exhortation to

SHAKSPERE'S "GOLDEN WORLD"

(*A. Y. L. I.*, I. i. 127)

By J. LEON LIEVSAY

IN the opening scene of *As You Like It* one of the minor characters, speaking of the banished Duke and his men, living in the forest of Arden "like the old Robin Hood of England," says that they "fleet the time carelessly, as they did in the golden world"—the reference being, as few commentators fail to point out, to "the Golden Age, the first and best age of the world, in which, according to the classical poets, man lived in a state of ideal happiness."¹ Undoubtedly, the identification of "golden world" with "golden age" is correct, and the reference is, indeed, to the classical theme most familiar, perhaps, in the *Works and Days* (II. 106-125) of Hesiod, or the *Eclogues* (IV, 9) of Virgil, the *Metamorphoses* (I, 89-112) of Ovid, and the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* (II, metre v) of Boethius.² But that explanation, good as far as it goes, does not help to answer the question which a curious mind might logically ask: Why does Shakspeare here say "golden world" rather than "golden age"? I think there may be a reason, for elsewhere³ he does use the form "golden age."

Whatever that explanation is, however, it is almost certainly not the simple thing that one commentator has thought it to be. In the introduction to his reprint⁴ of *The Civile Conversation*, translated by George Pettie (Books I-III, 1581) and Bartholomew Young (Book IV, 1586) from the Italian⁵ of Stefano Guazzo, Sir Edward Sullivan notices the Shaksperian expression in *A. Y. L. I.* and comments, "Pettie had also used the former phrase, 'the golden world

¹*Selected Plays of Shakespeare*, ed. Karl J. Holzknacht and Norman E. McClure (New York, 1937), III, 168.

²See the interesting article by K. F. Smith, "The Ages of the World (Greek and Roman)," in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, I, 192-200.

³*Rape of Lucrece*, 60; *Tempest*, II, i, 168.

⁴Tudor Translations, Ser. 2, VII-VIII (London, 1925), p. xlv.

⁵Pettie made his translation from the French version (1579) of Gabriel Chappuys, supplying it later (1586) with changes from the revised Italian ed. of 1580.

being gone' (Bk. III, 101)"—clearly with the implication of *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*. The phrase "golden world" does occur here as cited and again (though unnoticed by Sullivan) in *Civile Conversation*, Book II, p. 208: "There is no other thing in trueth that maketh the golden world, but the goodnesse of Princes." Unfortunately for his argument, however, Sir Edward neglects to observe that, before and down to Shakspeare's day, the phrase enjoyed a currency rivaling that of its better-remembered cousin, "golden age." A few instances will suffice to illustrate the truth of this statement.

Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*, translated from Laurent de Premierfait's expanded French version of Boccaccio's *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium* in the first half of the fifteenth century, for example, contains an entire section (Book VII, ll. 1153-1243) entitled "A Chapitle descryuyng the golden worlde, that is to say whan intemperaunce had hooly the gouernaunce."⁶ Within that section the phrase itself occurs four times: in lines 1188, 1209, 1227, and 1232. The *New English Dictionary*, at the entry under "golden", *adj.*, 7, as used "of a time or epoch: Characterized by great prosperity and happiness; flourishing, joyous," in addition to the passage from *A. Y. L. I.*, quotes William Tyndale's *Practyse of prelates* (1530), B2^v: "Then they called a parliament (as though the golden worlde should come agayne);" and Hall's *Chronicles, Henry VII* (1548), 20b: "That golden worlde of Tully." The phrase appears again in Sir Thomas North's *Diall of Princes* (1557), translated from Guevara, Bk. I, cap. xxi, as "In the first age and golden world, al lived in peace, etc." In the same year Pettie published his *Guazzo*, Thomas Howell was employing the phrase in his *Devises* (1581): "The golden worlde is past sayth some."⁷ Robert Greene was familiar with the expression:

Tis he good Sir that *Saturne* best did please,
When golden world set worldlings all at ease.^{7a}

⁶Ed. Henry Bergen, E. E. T. S.

⁷Raleigh's reprint, Tudor and Stuart Lib. (Cambridge, Eng., 1906), p. 53.

^{7a}*Dorando: The 2d Part of the Tritameron of Love* (London, 1587), in *Works*, A. B. Grosart, ed., III, 125.

Sidney uses it in his *Apologie* (pr. 1595), where, speaking of Nature, he says, "Her world is brasen, the Poets only deliuer a golden."⁸ Spenser's formal description of the early state of man's innocence, in the Prologue to Book V of *The Faerie Queene* employs the term "golden age" (st. 2); but in the homelier *Mother Hubberds Tale* (pr. 1591), written earlier, the poet speaks of "the world of gold" (l. 151). Even as late as 1598 the phrase was still current, for in that year it appears in a pamphlet called *The Servingman's Comfort*: "The golden worlde is past and gone."⁹ Evidently, then, Shakspeare was employing no strange locution when he wrote "the golden world."

"Golden age," on the other hand, was also in common use. Shakspeare himself, we have noticed, used it in his *Rape of Lucrece* (1594) and in *The Tempest* (1610). In the former, where he was working with Ovidian material, it is not unlikely that his choice of the term was governed by the form given in the *Metamorphoses* (1, 89): "*Aurea prima . . . aetas*"—translated by Golding, *Metamorphoses* (1567), as "Then sprang up first the golden age . . ."¹⁰ Indeed, it seems probable that Ovid's expression was re-term; for Hesiod uses the term golden race, γένος — ἀνθρώπων (*Works and Days*, l. 109), and Virgil, following him, *gens aurea* (*Ecl.* IV, l. 9). In Boethius (*De Consol. Phil.*, Bk. II, metre v) the term used is *prior aetas*, which Chaucer once translates as "first age" and again as "The Former Age." Walton's Boethius translation (?1410; pr. 1525) renders it by "pat rafer age."¹¹ The form was perhaps further solidified at "golden age" by the popularity of Tasso's *Aminta* (1573), which contained the lovely ode to the Golden age so admired—and so admirably translated—by Leigh Hunt: "*O bella età de l'oro.*"

A few additional examples, gathered almost at random, will serve to illustrate the vogue of this form. It appears,

⁸Ed. Arber, *English Reprints* (Westminster, 1901), p. 25.

⁹See *Shakespeare's England* (Oxford, 1926), I, p. 34.

¹⁰Ed. W. H. D. Rouse (London, 1904), Bk. I, l. 103.

¹¹See E. P. Hammond, *English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey* (Durham, N. C., 1927), p. 48.

we have seen, in the fifth book of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (1596), and earlier in an undated letter (c. 1580) of Spenser's friend, Gabriel Harvey. "You suppose," writes Harvey, "the first age was the goulde age. It is nothinge soe. Bodin defendith the goulde age to flourishe nowe, and ovr first grandfathers to have rubbid thorowghe in the iron and brasen age at the beginninge when all things were rude and unperfitt in comparison of the exquisite finesse and delicacye, that we are growen unto at these dayes."¹² Sidney's friend and biographer, Fulke Greville, uses it in his *Letter to an Honorable Lady* (1609): "a liuely image of that Golden Age, which the allegories of the poets figure vnto vs."¹³ Elsewhere, however, he falls back upon "those golden days."¹⁴

The Golden Age (1611) is also the title of one in a series of five loosely dramatic productions by Thomas Heywood. We meet the term again in Ben Jonson's masque, *The Golden Age Restored*, presented at court in 1615, where Golden Age is introduced as one of the characters. (See H. Morley's *Masques . . . by B. Jonson*, pp. 194-200.) It is also the form used by Milton in the *Hymn on the Morning of Christ's Nativity* (1629), line 135; and it appears again in Sir Richard Fanshawe's translation (1647) of Guarini's *Pastor Fido*:

Fair golden age! when milk was th' only food, etc.¹⁵

How the phrase "golden world" first came to be used we can only conjecture. Perhaps one commentator is on the right track when he notes, "For *world* = state of things, cf. i, 2, 296: 'hereafter in a better world than this.' This is in accordance with the etymology—O. E., *wer-eld*, age of men."¹⁶ Personally, I suspect an ecclesiastical influence, possibly through some combination involving the medieval Latin *saeculum*, "the world" or *saecularis*, "worldly",

¹²*The Letter-Book of Gabriel Harvey*, ed. E. J. L. Scott, Camden Soc. (N. S. XXXIII, 1884), p. 86.

¹³*Works*, ed. A. B. Grosart (1870), IV, p. 235.

¹⁴*A Treatise of Monarchy*, Sect. 1, st. 2; *Works*, ed. Grosart.

¹⁵*As You Like It*, Booklovers' Edition (New York, 1901), p. 150.

¹⁶*As You Like It*, ed. J. C. Smith (Arden Shakespeare, Amer. ed., revised by E. H. Wright, Boston, 1916), p. 107.

"secular."¹⁷ In any event, it is almost certain that Shakspere was not thinking of the etymology of either *age* or *world*. The expression "golden world" was ready-made and of venerable standing in the language—was perhaps, even, to judge from the list of users cited above, the more distinctly native term. As such it was suited perfectly to its context; for however disputed may be the location of the forest of Arden, the tradition of Robin Hood is redolent of English soil.

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¹⁷This would seem to be borne out in Guazzo's *Civil conversatione* (Strasburg, 1614: Latin and Italian in parallel columns), p. 328, where we read: "Niun'altra cosa nel uero rende piu il secolo d'oro che la bontà del Prencipe." Salmuth's Latin version of this runs, "Nihil profectò est, quod *aureum seculum* magis possit credere, quàm Principis bonitas."

HERMIONE'S STATUE AGAIN

(SHAKSPERE'S RETURN TO BANDELLO)

By GEORGE C. TAYLOR

NOTING that "students of Shakespeare have been unable to discover the source of the statue episode at the end of *The Winter's Tale*," H. Carrington Lancaster,¹ after an examination of interesting elements in plays by Alexandre Hardy and "a certain La Caze," suggests that "Shakespearean students may profitably turn their telescopes" in the direction of French drama with a view to finding there a play or plays which may account for Shakspeare's use of the Hermione statue episode and of other details of plot used in *The Winter's Tale*. I wish to call attention, on the contrary, to material which lies under our noses, to a story certainly read and used by Shakspeare before 1600 as the source of *Much Ado*. In this tale by Bandello, *Signor Timbreo di Cardona and Finecia Leonato*, the twentieth story of the Novels of Bandello, which Shakspeare had already used and to which he returned some ten years later when he was writing *The Winter's Tale*, are to be found most of the important details with which Lancaster is concerned in his article, with the possible exception of the statue episode. It may also explain the statue coming to life.

Shakspeare's use of the Bandello story affords another interesting example of what Law² called to our attention in the case of the old *Leir*, a first use of it in *Richard the Third* and a second use of it some ten years later in the play of *King Lear*. Shakspeare, following his source, Greene's *Pandosto*, as to Hermione to about the middle of the third act of *The Winter's Tale*, there decides, in contrast to what Greene does, not to let Hermione die when she falls unconscious at the news of her son's death, but to revive her. From this point on to the end, therefore, Greene's story can be of no use to Shakspeare so far as the Hermione story is concerned, though it continues to be of use to him as to the Perdita portion of the plot. The restoration to life of a

¹ *Studies in Philology*, XXIX, 233 ff.

² *Richard the Third*, Act 1, scene 4, *PMLA*, XXVII (1912), 117-41.

heroine who had been struck down under almost identically the same circumstances, and in almost identically the same way, he had already handled successfully in *Much Ado* with the aid of the Bandello story. To this he returns in handling the Hermione plot throughout the latter half of *The Winter's Tale*. Some of the details he had already used in *Much Ado*. Some he had not. Hence *Much Ado* in a very real sense has to be thought of as a source of *The Winter's Tale*.³ The following are some of the more important units in the tale by Bandello which Shakspeare uses in *The Winter's Tale*: (1) The lover accuses the beloved of unchastity. (2) The accused falls in a faint. (3) She is supposed by the false accuser to be dead. (4) The accused recovers and thinks much about the disgrace to her honorable ancestry. (5) The accuser discovers his mistake and repents for causing her death. (6) The woman supposed by her lover to be dead is taken away and concealed for a long time. (7) The accuser does formal penance for his crime. (8) One of the formal penitential observances consists in visiting her tomb or monument regularly (once a day in *The Winter's Tale*, once a year in *Much Ado*). (9) Another one of these formal observances consists in the accuser surrendering his judgment as to whom he will marry again to the friend of the falsely accused (to Paulina in *The Winter's Tale*, and to the father of the accused in Bandello and in *Much Ado*). (10) A *living likeness* of the falsely accused is finally brought before the false accuser. (11) He does not detect the trick. (12) But he is thereby thrown into confusion and joy. (13) The reconciliation is effected by the revelation that the living likeness is in reality the accused. Thus all the details for which Lancaster is seeking in a French play some time before 1610 and many others used in *The Winter's Tale* are to be found in Bandello's *Novelle* (1554) and in Belleforest's translation of it (1569), all except perhaps the statue. Possibly the suggestion is in Bandello for that also.

Now for the statue, which some think that Shakspeare, with all his certain and probable knowledge of statues coming to life in story and in drama, *devised* as it appears in

³ For example, a *curtain* is removed to reveal suddenly Hermione to Leontes, a *mask* is removed to reveal suddenly Hero to Claudius. This detail is not in Bandello.

The Winter's Tale, and which others think that he did not. Lancaster says, "The evidence here set forth makes it extremely improbable that Shakespeare invented Hermione's statue or that he derived it from any of the works previously suggested in this connection."⁴ Kittredge, on the contrary, in the most recent comment, remarks pertinently: "For the suggestion of the statue that comes to life one need not have recourse to Lyly's *Woman in the Moon* (1557) or to Marston's *Pygmalion's Image* (1598). A poet who wrote *Venus and Adonis* in 1593 (or earlier) did not need to ask Lyly or Marston in 1611 to lead him to the story of Pygmalion in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (x, 243 ff)."⁵ It is, however, important to note that at exactly the appropriate point in Bandello's narrative which Shakspeare used as source in the last half of *The Winter's Tale*, he was given the suggestion as to the marble statue. Of the unjustly accused lady lying in a swoon Bandello says: "si lascio andare come morta e perdendo sublito il nativo colore, piu auna statua di marmo che a creatura rassembrava". Belleforest, whom Shakspeare read, is translated thus: "she let herself fall as one dead, and of a sudden losing her natural color *resembled a marble statue* [italics mine] rather than a live woman."⁶ Failing to use this suggestion as to the marble statue in his *Much Ado*, Shakspeare there brings this woman who resembles a marble statue in his source finally before the accuser as a living likeness (as her sister), thereby effecting a reconciliation between the lover and the accused at the end. Shakspeare would have had to be practically devoid of inventive genius not to be able to take the step from the living copy he had already used in a similar series of situations to a marble copy in *The Winter's Tale*,⁷ particularly if he was familiar with a considerable body of materials in which statues come to life.

⁴ SP, XXIX, 238.

⁵ *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*, p. 432.

⁶ *Much Ado About Nothing*. A New Variorum, 1900, Howard Furness, p. 316.

⁷ The situation and language as to the matter in *Much Ado* and *The Winter's Tale* are remarkably similar. In *Much Ado* Leonato tells Claudius, who has promised to marry only one whom Leonato chooses for his wife, he wishes him to marry "almost the copy of my child that's dead." V. 1, line 299. In *The Winter's Tale* Paulina tells Leontes, who has promised to marry only by Paulina's consent, he cannot marry "unless another as like Hermoine as is her picture." V. 1, line 74. Shakspeare is following Bandello in both cases.

To what degree, then, was the device of statues coming to life known to Elizabethans before the time of *The Winter's Tale*? To what degree was Shakspeare familiar with the device (we reckon entirely too little with this aspect) in serious and bawdy stories which had become commonplace among the folk? Baum⁸ has shown conclusively that statues coming to life in the literature of the middle ages were as common as blackberries in June. There is, too, in the drama in England an exceedingly early instance. It looks very much as if the *Ludus Super Iconia Sancti Nicolii* (the manuscript dates from the twelfth century)⁹ contains a statue of Saint Nicholas who most effectively comes to life at the end of the play. In Shakspeare's own day there were two plays which could suggest the Hermione episode to any dramatist as resourceful and inventive as to devices as Shakspeare had proved himself to be in scores of instances by the time he designed *The Winter's Tale*. One of these has not been mentioned so far as I know in this connection. It is *An Alarum For London* (1600), ascribed by some to Shakspeare himself. As no sound basis has been established for his authorship, it is best to notice instead that it was acted by Shakspeare's company, the Chamberlain's Men. Either as actor in this play or producer or merely as one financially interested, Shakspeare could hardly fail to be impressed by the remarkable device of the Duke of Alva, being carried as dead through the streets, but once inside the walls coming to life. The other play of decided significance in this connection has often been mentioned as possibly affecting Shakspeare in his use of the Hermione statue device. It is *The Tryall of Chevalerie* (1600). Here the man poses as a statue on a tomb and comes to life, thereby effecting reconciliation with his beloved. Lancaster says, "The resemblance of *The Tryall of Chevalerie* to *The Winter's Tale* may well be considered remote." Remote in what sense I do not see, as it was apparently acted by the Admiral's Men, with whom Shakspeare was then working in competition. Perhaps Mr. Lancaster means remote because, as he points out, "There is no triangle of suspected husband and wife and supposed lover" in it and be-

⁸ "The Young Man Betrothed to the Statue," *PMLA*, p. 523.

⁹ J. Q. Adams, *Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas*, pp. 56-58.

cause "the supposed statue is a man."¹⁰ The triangle is present a-plenty in Shakspeare's own play, *Much ado*, and *Bandello*. The fact that it is a woman who pretends to be a statue in the Shakspeare play and that it is a man who pretends to be a statue in *The Tryall of Chevalerie* does not make improbable the latter as source of the former, if one keeps in mind Shakspeare's habit in such matters. A man, Iago, steals the handkerchief from Desdemona in the source of *Othello*, Cinthio's *Hecatommithi*; Emilia, a woman, steals it in *Othello*. Romeo, a man, suggests the ladder in *Romeus and Juliet*, source of *Romeo and Juliet*; the nurse, a woman, suggests it in Shakspeare's play. The old man in the *Menaechmi* gives the advice to the jealous wife; Luciana, a woman, gives it in Shakspeare's play, *The Comedy of Errors*. This matter of changing the female role to the male and *vice versa* from his source to his play is not uncommon in Shakspeare. A study of all Shakspeare's plays and their sources, moreover, shows beyond doubt that, contrary to the view sometimes advanced, Shakspeare is often exceedingly bold in his changes of source. His deliberate wrenching of the end of *Lear* from happy to tragic is as good an example as any.

All in all, when one considers what Shakspeare had available in literature and probably in talk as to statues coming to life, it would seem perhaps unnecessary to seek in a French play a plot corresponding exactly to that part of *The Winter's Tale* which involves the statue of Hermione. There is, it seems, enough and to spare to account for Shakspeare's use of the statue without it.

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¹⁰ Hermione's Statue, *SP*, XXIX, 238.

HARDY AND SHAKSPERE AGAIN

By E. P. VANDIVER, JR.

HARDY knew Shakspeare thoroughly. Next to the Bible he drew upon him for quotation and allusion. Mr.

Carl J. Weber has summarized preceding studies of Hardy's indebtedness, or possible indebtedness, to Shakspeare,¹ especially the similarity of the humor of Hardy's rustics and Shakspeare's, and the general similarity between one of the most poignant scenes in *The Return of the Native* and *Othello*. Mr. Weber himself has listed many of the Shaksperian quotations, echoes, and allusions found in Hardy.

The purposes of this study are to add to Mr. Weber's list many other references, including those from two novels (*Desperate Remedies* and *The Trumpet-Major*) and from five plays (*Love's Labour's Lost*, *The Comedy of Errors*, *King John*, *The Merchant of Venice*, and *Antony and Cleopatra*) not in the other list; to indicate in each novel the Shaksperian references and quotations; and to point out the especially interesting Shaksperian aspects of *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, *Far from the Madding Crowd*—with its suggestions of *Othello*, *A Laodicean*, and *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*.

In Hardy's first novel, *Desperate Remedies*, there is a quotation from a Shaksperian sonnet and a reference to Hallam's criticism of Juliet. The hero of the novel is said to be steeped in Shakspeare, even to the footnotes; and the enumeration of the qualities that he would like his wife to possess might well have been inspired by Benedick's, though his taste is not as fastidious as the latter's.

Following the publication of *Under the Greenwood Tree*, with its obviously Shaksperian title, came a novel abounding in apt Shaksperian quotations and allusions—*A Pair of Blue Eyes*. The heading for the first chapter poetically describes the heroine, Elfride Swancourt, as "a fair vestal throned in the west." She has not met many

¹*The Shakespeare Association Bulletin*, IX, 91-97, 162-163.

attractive men in her isolated world; and when she first sees Stephen Smith, her interest is compared to that of Miranda. A little later the scene between the two is described as one of "Sweet-and-Twenty." The eleventh chapter, which deals with Elfride's plans to go to London to be married to Stephen, is appropriately entitled "Journeys end in lovers meeting." Her father, not wishing to tell her his destination when she asks about a trip he intends to make, quotes Hotspur's speech to his wife: "Thou wilt not utter what thou dost not know, and so far wilt I trust thee . . ."

One of Hardy's most affecting scenes occurs when Elfride and Knight, who has now completely replaced Stephen in the heart of the heroine, meet Stephen in the vault of a church. The similarity of her situation to Claudius's in the famous "prayer scene," when he wishes forgiveness for his sins but is not willing to give up what he has gained by wrong-doing, is evident to her as she thinks of the words of Claudius: "Can one be pardoned and retain the offence?"

The thirty-first chapter is entitled "A worm i' the bud." Viola's speech, in *Twelfth Night*, in which she is telling Orsino, in a cryptic manner, of her love for him, is referred to. Elfride's melancholy is occasioned by the fact that she has not fully revealed the story of her former love for Stephen and fears what effect such a revelation may have on Knight's affection for her. Her fear is justified. Knight, having learned part, unfortunately not all, of the story of her love for another man, leaves her forever. Returning to his books and studies, which he has forsaken for the more enjoyable pastime of love-making, the scholar feels guilty of having neglected his important work because of too easily succumbing to the charm of feminine beauty. Knight, like Antony, feels that he has "kissed away kingdoms and provinces." His unhappiness is again mentioned several months later when Stephen tells him that he is more morbid than Hamlet.

Hardy's fondness for, and skill in, quoting Shakspeare is thus apparent in this early novel, his third. There are in this book no less than fourteen quotations apparently based on, or derived from, similar quotations in Shakspeare: six

from *Hamlet*, three from *Twelfth Night*, and one each from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Richard II*, *I Henry IV*, *King Lear*, and *Antony and Cleopatra*; also there is a reference to Miranda, in *The Tempest*.

Another interesting illustration of Hardy's intimate knowledge of Shakspeare occurs in his fourth novel, *Far from the Madding Crowd*, when he casually refers to a statement by Guildenstern and one by Gonzalo in connection with the events in the novel. Part of Macbeth's famous soliloquy is also quoted when Hardy refers to the extravagant professions of love by enamoured young men as

Full of sound and fury,
Signifying nothing.

There is also in this book something which suggests the powerful depiction of acute pain and despair which is found in such a play as *Othello*. Like Othello, the stalwart and fearless Boldwood is desperately in love; and his sufferings, though arising from a somewhat different reason, are almost as great as Othello's. When he finds that Bathsheba has turned from him to Troy, his sorrow mounts almost to agony. And when he suspects a liaison between Troy and Bathsheba, though still in love with her, he is heartbroken. The following scene between the two men may well have been suggested by the scene between Othello and Iago—the blow, the threat to kill, the mental agony:

At the same instant Boldwood sprang upon him, and held him by the neck. Troy felt Boldwood's grasp slowly tightening. The move was absolutely unexpected.

"A moment," he gasped. "You are injuring her you love!"

"Well, what do you mean?" said the farmer.

"Give me breath," said Troy.

Boldwood loosened his hand, saying, "By Heaven, I've a mind to kill you!"

"And ruin her."

"Save her."

"Oh, how can she be saved now, unless I marry her?"

Boldwood groaned. He reluctantly released the soldier, and flung him back against the hedge. "Devil, you torture me!" said he.²

Moreover, the immediately preceding scene, in which Troy deliberately persuades Boldwood to hide in a place where

²Pp. 217f. Reprinted by permission of Harper and Brothers.

he can overhear the conversation between Troy and Bathsheba so that his torture may be increased, calls to mind the eavesdropping scene in *Othello*. Furthermore, near the end of the book there is a reference to Desdemona. Bathsheba, in turn, like Boldwood, feels the excruciating pain of total unhappiness in love. After Troy has openly proclaimed his love for the dead Fanny rather than his living wife, Bathsheba, crushed and broken, retires with her maid to the attic. During a conversation between the two women Bathsheba instructs the maid to bring up some old books to read, mentioning, among others, Beaumont and Fletcher's *Maid's Tragedy*. The maid then asks:

"And that story of the black man, who murdered his wife Desdemona? It is a nice dismal one that would suit you excellent just now."³

Hardy certainly was thinking of *Othello* when he wrote the two preceding sentences; and it seems probable that he was influenced by the play more than once while writing this novel.

The Hand of Ethelberta contains adverse criticism, on the part of one of the characters, of the unhappy endings of *Romeo and Juliet* and *Othello*, direct quotations from *Henry IV* and *Macbeth*, and comparisons of the heroine to Hamlet. Although containing some of Hardy's best rustics, who may have had their prototypes in Shakspeare, *The Return of the Native* is almost devoid of direct Shaksperian allusion. All we find is a reference to Lear in the 1895 preface and a quotation from *Macbeth*. *The Trumpet-Major* contains a direct quotation from *The Merchant of Venice*, an echo from *Hamlet*, and a reference to the Dromios.

Especially interesting in *A Laodicean* is the account of an amateur performance of *Love's Labour's Lost*, with references to Shakspeare, the romantic characters, Armado, and Nathaniel, and with three excerpts from the play. One of the participants, De Stancy, playing the part of the King of Navarre, is in love with Paula, who is playing the part of the Princess. To further his matrimonial ambitions, De Stancy tampers with the text and suddenly, that he may

³P. 360. Reprinted by permission of Harper and Brothers.

have a good excuse to kiss the Princes, interpolates eight lines from *Romeo and Juliet* into the comedy, concluding:

"O then, dear Saint, let lips do what hands do;
They pray, grant thou, lest faith turn to despair.
Then move not, while my prayer's effect I take.
Thus from my lips, by yours, my sin is purged."

Shakspeare's name is mentioned several times, with a comment on the happy matrimonial endings of his comedies and with a remark concerning his infallibility. In another part of this book the friendship of Paula and Charlotte is compared to that of Hermia and Helena; and Paula, lying in a hammock, compares herself to Ariel. There are also direct quotations from *King John* and 1 *Henry IV*, and paraphrases from *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Hamlet*. Thus one of Hardy's least-read novels is one of his richest in Shaksperian interest.

Two on a Tower contains quotations from *Hamlet* and *Richard II* and references to Puck, Hermia, Demetrius, and Caliban. In *The Mayor of Casterbridge* are quotations from *As You Like It* and *Twelfth Night* and references to Rosalind, Calpurnia, Shallow and Silence. *The Woodlanders* contains quotations from *Hamlet*, *Othello*, and *Measure for Measure* as well as a reference to the mourners in *Cymbeline*. In *Wessex Tales* there is a quotation from *Othello*, an echo from *Macbeth*, and references to Lear and Timon. In *A Group of Noble Dames*, a collection of stories, there is a quotation from *Othello* and references to Rosalind and Brabantio.

Tess of the D'Urbervilles and *A Pair of Blue Eyes* are the two novels of Hardy that are richest in Shaksperian allusions. In *Tess* there are quotations from *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Romeo and Juliet*, 1 *Henry IV*, *As You Like It*, *Twelfth Night*, *Measure for Measure*, *Hamlet*, *King Lear*, *Macbeth*, and the *Sonnets*. There are references to Friar Laurence and Gloucester. Another good example of how deeply Hardy was steeped in Shakspeare occurs in a conversation between Angel Clare and Mercy Chant. Angel has just spoken favorably of a cloister:

"Why, you wicked man, a cloister implies a monk, and a monk Roman Catholicism."

"And Roman Catholicism sin, and sin damnation. Thou art in a parlous state, Angel Clare."⁴

Angel is obviously borrowing his words and logic from Touchstone. When the sad and tortured Tess reproaches herself for being miserable and unhappy after seeing several wounded and suffering birds and considering that her lot is much better than theirs, one is reminded of a similar utterance by the unhappy and persecuted Edgar when he sees his father, who is suffering because of his recently-inflicted blindness.

There are two references to Shakspeare in *Jude the Obscure*. In *The Well-Beloved* there are references to Romeo, Juliet, Rosaline, and the Montagues, a direct quotation from *Romeo and Juliet*, and a quotation from the sonnets.

Thus it is evident that Shaksperian quotations or allusions, drawn from the sonnets and at least twenty plays, appear in each of the fourteen novels and in several of the short stories. There are more than sixty different quotations or paraphrases, at least eighteen of which are from *Hamlet*. Of the following twenty-eight characters mentioned by Hardy—the Dromios; Hermia, Helena, Demetrius, Puck; Juliet, Rosaline, Friar Laurence; Silence and Shallow; Rosalind; Calpurnia; Hamlet, Guildenstern, Horatio; Othello, Brabantio, Desdemona, Iago; Lear, Gloucester; Antony; Timon; Ariel, Caliban, Miranda, Gonzalo—four are in each of the following plays: *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Othello*, and *The Tempest*.

Both Virginia Woolf⁵ and Joyce Weiner⁶ consider Hardy the greatest writer of powerful tragedy among the English novelists, the novelist most like the great Elizabethan dramatists in the portrayal of deep suffering and emotion. And that Hardy had drunk more deeply at the well of Shakspeare than elsewhere among the Elizabethans is evident not only from Mrs. Hardy's statement⁷ as to his frequent attendance

⁴P. 304. Reprinted by permission of Harper and Brothers.

⁵"The Novels of Thomas Hardy," *The Common Reader: Second Series* (Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1932).

⁶"Four Novels of Hardy: Some Second Impressions," *The Contemporary Magazine* (August, 1932).

⁷Florence Emily Hardy, *The Early Life of Thomas Hardy* (Macmillan Co., 1928), p. 69.

at the performance of Shakspeare's plays but also from his frequent and apt use of Shaksperian material in his fiction in contrast with his rare use of quotations from, or references to, the work of other Elizabethans.

The following list of Shaksperian quotations and allusions supplements the lists previously published by Mr. Carl J. Weber (*Shakespeare Association Bulletin*, IX, 91-97, 162-163). The page references are to the Harpers' edition of Hardy:⁸

Love's Labour's Lost:

- "Good Lord Boyet, my beauty, though but mean," etc. (II, i, 13-14), quoted in *A Laodicean*, 267
- "Fair Princess, welcome to the court of Navarre," etc. (II, I, 90-92), quoted in *A Laodicean*, 267.
- "Rebuke me not for that which you provoke," etc. (V, ii, 347-348), quoted in *A Laodicean*, 268.

The Comedy of Errors:

The two Dromios are mentioned in *The Trumpet-Major*, 365.

King John:

- "When fortune means to men most good," etc. (III, iv, 119-120), quoted in *A Laodicean*, 169.

Romeo and Juliet:

- "If I profane with my unworthing hand," etc. (I, v, 95-98, 105-106, 108-109), quoted in *A Laodicean*, 268f.
- References to Rosaline, Romeo, Juliet, and the Montagues are in *The Well-Beloved*, 69f; to Friar Laurence in *Tess*, 244; to Juliet in *Desperate Remedies*, 110; to Romeo in *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, 137; and criticism of the play in *The Hand of Ethelberta*, 59.

A Midsummer Night's Dream:

- "The course of true love" (I, i, 134) is paraphrased in *A Laodicean*, 429.
- References to Hermia and Helena are in *A Laodicean*, 253.

The Merchant of Venice:

- "I hold the world but as the world," etc. (I, i, 76-78), quoted in *The Trumpet-Major*, 171.
- "The devil can cite Scripture for his purpose" (I, iii, 99), echoed in *The Hand of Ethelberta*, 62.

⁸For three of these quotations I am indebted to three of my students: Nancy Eskridge, Janeal Herndon, and Mary L. Hutcheson.

Henry IV, Part I:

"Thou wilt not utter what thou dost not know," etc. (II, iii, 114-115), quoted in *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, 124.

"Enfeoffed herself to popularity," etc. (III, i, 69-73), quoted in *The Hand of Ethelberta*, 192.

As You Like It:

"Why, if thou never wast at court," etc. (III, i, 41-46), echoed in *Tess*, 304.

Rosalind referred to in *A Group of Noble Dames*, 17.

Twelfth Night:

"Sweet-and-twenty" (II, iii, 52) is quoted in *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, 15.

Hamlet:

"To the manner born" (I, iv, 15) is quoted in *Far from the Madding Crowd*, 11.

"Happy is that we are not over-happy" (II, ii, 232) is echoed in *Far from the Madding Crowd*, 168.

"There is nothing either good or bad but thinking makes it so," (II, ii, 256) is quoted in *Two on a Tower*, 123.

"Sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought" (III, i, 85) is echoed in *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, 151.

"Out-herods Herod" (III, ii, 16) is echoed in *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, 418.

"As one, in suffering all, that suffers nothing" (III, ii, 71) is quoted in *The Woodlanders*, 218.

"Can one be pardoned and retain the offence?" (III, iii, 56) is quoted in *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, 312.

"I must be cruel, only to be kind" (III, iv, 178) is echoed in *The Trumpet-Major*, 171.

"Dog will have his day" (V, i, 315) is echoed in *A Laodicean*, 255.

"A divinity that shapes our ends" (V, ii, 10) is echoed in *The Woodlanders*, 106.

There are references to Hamlet in *The Hand of Ethelberta*, 308; to Guildenstern in *Far from the Madding Crowd*, 168; and to Horatio in *The Woodlanders*, 218.

Othello:

"She has deceived her father, and may thee" (I, iii, 294) is quoted in *A Group of Noble Dames*, 228.

"Not poppy nor mandragora" (III, iii, 330) is quoted in *Wessex Tales*, 123.

There are references to Desdemona and her murderer in *Far from the Madding Crowd*, 360; and to Brabantio in *A Group of Noble Dames*, 228.

King Lear:

"An excellent thing in Woman" (V, iii, 273) is echoed in *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, 68.

Macbeth:

"To be thus is nothing; but to be safely thus" (III, i, 48-49) is quoted in *The Hand of Ethelberta*, 287.

"What's done cannot be undone" (V, i, 75) is quoted in *The Return of the Native*, 41.

"The sear, the yellow leaf" (V, ii, 23) is echoed in *Wessex Tales*, 61.

Antony and Cleopatra:

"Kiss'd away kingdoms and provinces" (III, x, 7-8) is quoted in *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, 408.

The Tempest:

"I would fain die a dry death" (I, i, 72) is paraphrased in *Far from the Madding Crowd*, 379.

There are references to Miranda in *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, 2; to Ariel in *A Laodicean*, 200; to Gonzalo in *Far from the Madding Crowd*, 379; and to Caliban in *Two on a Tower*, 13.

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Below will be found a list of the pages in Hardy's novels (Harpers' edition) that contain Shaksperian quotations or allusions:

Desperate Remedies: 25, 110, 244, (23).

Under the Greenwood Tree: 273.

A Pair of Blue Eyes: title page, 1, 2, 15, 68, 96, 115, 124, 151, 200, 304, 312, 365, 408, 418.

Far from the Madding Crowd: 27, 168, 360, 379, (271).

The Hand of Ethelberta: 59, 192, 287, 308.

The Return of the Native: preface, 41.

The Trumpet-Major: 171, 337, 365.

A Laodicean: 139, 200, 253, 255, 258-276, 429.

Two on a Tower: 13, 123, 204, 301.

The Mayor of Casterbridge: 137, 284, 321.

*The Woodlanders*⁴: 106, 218, 262, 288, 331, 337.

Wessex Tales: 35, 61, 84, 123.

A Group of Noble Dames: 17, 228.

Tess of the D'Urbervilles: title page, preface, 12, 65, 139, 160, 188, 197, 244, 264, 277, 304, 423.

Jude the Obscure: II, i; III, iv.

The Well-Beloved: 46, 62, 69, 70, 222.

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A NOTE ON *I HENRY IV*

By M. A. SHAABER

THERE seems to be three different interpretations of the following lines in the first scene of the third act of *I Henry IV* (lines 231-6 in the Cambridge edition):

The musicke playes.

Hot. No. I perceiue the diuell vnderstands Welsh,
And tis no maruaile he is so humorous,
Birlady he is a good musition.

La. Then should you be nothing but musicall,
For you are altogether gouerned by humors,
Lie still ye thiefe, and heare the Lady sing in Welsh.

This punctuation of Hotspur's speech, which is that of the first five quartos, is obviously equivocal. Q6 (1622), accordingly, alters it thus:

Hot. Now I perceiue the diuel vnderstands *Welsh*.
And t'is no maruell he is so humorous,
Birlady he is a good musition.

The first folio, however, interprets the lines in a quite different sense, thus:

Hosp. Now I perceiue the Deuill vnderstands Welsh,
And 'tis no maruell he is so humorous:
Byrlady hee's a good Musitian.

This interpretation, which makes Hospur mean "this no wonder he is so humorous if he knows Welsh" (Wright), is adopted by most recent editors, many of whom put a full stop after *humorous*.

Theobald, however, by putting a comma after *marvel*, gave the speech a quite different implication, which is thus expressed by Elton: "No wonder he knows Welsh—he's humorous (capricious) enough for anything." This reading of the lines prevailed quite generally until the Cambridge editors voted against it, but it has recently been revived by Professor Kittredge.

Meanwhile the interpretation of Q6 has received scant attention. So far as I know, Staunton is the only editor who has followed it; he prints the speech thus:

Hot. Now I perceive, the devil understands Welsh;
And 'tis no marvel he's so humorous,
By'r lady, he's a good musician.

The reading of Q6 is no doubt authoritative, but an emendation made so near Shakespeare's own time, by some one who surely had a keener sense of the connotation of the words involved than we have, deserves consideration. Furthermore, it is evident that this interpretation is the only one which accords with Lady Percy's retort. If her words are taken at face value, it is plain that she understands Hotspur to have associated humorousness and musical ability, not humorousness and the devil or Welshmen. The contradiction between the usual interpretation of Hotspur's jest and the speech of Lady Percy has been noticed, so far as I can learn, by only three commentators. The first, Vaughan, says:

I believe that he means to ascribe the devil's humourness either as cause, or as effect, to his accomplishment as a musician. I think further that the musical power is intended to explain the humorous habit, and not the humorous habit to account for the musical power. Lady Percy's answer proves the first of these propositions, and strongly favours the second.*

The Arden editors, in their first edition of the play (1914), print a colon after *Welsh* and a semi-colon after *humorous* and explain the lines in the same sense as Wright, but in the notes added to their revised edition (1925) they reverse themselves thus: "Hotspur thinks it no marvel that the Devil is so full of humours, seeing he is a musician" (p. 206). Deighton also notices the point, only to circumvent it: "either intentionally or unintentionally, Lady Percy misapplies her husband's words in which it is not humours and music that are connected, but humours and the temperament of Welshmen."

In my judgment, Vaughan is right: Lady Percy's words are surely the most trustworthy clue to Hotspur's meaning.

It is true that, thus misunderstood, Hotspur's speech becomes slightly incoherent, but impulsive utterance, in which one thought trips over another, is quite characteristic of him, and here he has just been given a start by the musical manifestation of Glendower's supernatural powers. Indeed, it is perhaps more likely that at this moment his mind should run on the disconcerting supernatural music than on the Welsh national character. The interpretations at variance with Vaughan's have no doubt been fostered by the obvious association between humourness and the excitability of Welshmen, which is, I amagine, more notorious than the association between humourness and musical ability. Of this latter association, however, there can be little doubt in view of the speech from *Poetaster* (IIi .i. 102-9 quoted by the Arden editors: "No; this is Hermogenes, as humorous as a *poet* though: he is a *Musician*." Accordingly, since the interpretation of Q6 is no less authoritative than that of F, makes just as good sense, and suits the context much better, I commend it to the attention of students and editors as deserving of more consideration than it appears to have received.

Deighton's remarks, however, raise a point of wider interest than the correct interpretation of Hotspur's speech. How often does a character in Shakspeare misunderstand, deliberately or otherwise, what some one else has said? Except in scenes of broad comedy, where there is undoubtedly a good deal of misunderstanding and misapplication of the grossest kind, do not Shakspeare's characters almost invariably understand one another perfectly, and, if they reapply one another's words, apply them with due respect for the sense in which they were originally used? It seems to me that they do, and that in popular art they must almost necessarily do so. It is not like Shakspeare to make on character becloud the issue raised by another's words, as Lady Percy does if Deighton is right. At the same time, this trait of accurate perception in his creatures may also reflect a quickness and precision of apprehension habitual with Shakspeare himself.

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Compiled by R. W. BABCOCK

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I WILL TRY CONFUSIONS WITH HIM

By HOPE TRAVER

THE MERCHANT OF VENICE has long been recognized as the most mediæval of Shaksperian plays. There have been numberless studies of the origin and development of the two main plots, the Pound of Flesh and the Casket stories, both of ancient origin. But it has been assumed that the Jessica and Lorenzo plot was of Italian Renaissance origin and that the fooleries of Launcelot Gobbo and his father were native English comedy, though some scholars are unwilling to believe Shakspeare guilty of the latter. Recently the Jessica-Lorenzo plot was traced to a thirteenth-century exemplum of which the ultimate source is probably the Old Testament history of Jacob and Rachel. Jessica remains, however, a somewhat baffling and contradictory character, with traces of a most unromantic coarseness. This, I believe, can be explained by accepting Jacob's relations with Rachel and Leah as the germ from which various stories developed, some more romantic, as in the exempla of the moralists, others frankly comic, in which Jessica's prototype should be associated with a Launcelot Gobbo rather than a Lorenzo. Considerable evidence points to Launcelot Gobbo as having once played the rôle of Jacob. Exigencies of space force me thus to "give my whole case away" at once, instead of leading up to a climax.

Fortunately, my first clause needs no defense. *The Merchant of Venice*, more than most of Shakspeare's plays, shows the flower from a long period of growth and, more than most, has its roots in religious and didactic story of the mediæval period.¹ The discovery of the exemplum to which

¹The suggestion of a connection between the Trial Scene and the mediæval Processus Belial which I have made long ago in *The Four Daughters of God* (Bryn Mawr Monograph Series, 1907) has since been re-iterated by others, and it incited Sir Israel Gollancz to a beautiful study of the relationship of the play as a whole to mediæval allegory in three lectures which it was my privilege to prepare for posthumous publication in a Memorial Volume: *Allegory and Mysticism*. . . . Sir Israel Gollancz. Printed for Private Circulation by George W. Jones at the Sign of the Dolphin in Gough Square, London, June, 1931.

my second clause refers was made by Mrs. Carleton Brown² who shows how this 13th-century exemplum supplies the indispensable element of a Christian's love for the Jew's daughter, an essential lacking in the novella by Massuccio hitherto offered as source. Before this discovery, critics had often commented on Shakspeare's felicity in accounting for Shylock's incredible cruelty by showing him maddened to vengeful rage through the seduction of his daughter by a Christian. In a footnote Mrs. Brown remarks: "It is obvious that for Shakespeare's purposes the original situation of the hero as a hireling of the Jew could not be carried over. Some remnant, however, of the original steward-hero seems to have adhered to the servant in the play, who, as in the exemplum, makes his escape from a Jewish master. . . . It is to be observed that Lorenzo becomes steward to Portia."

And here you have the clue to my third clause,—and the hypothesis to which this paper is to be devoted. I propose to you Launcelot Gobbo as alternate for Lorenzo in the abduction of a Jewish maiden whose ancestor was the Rachel with whom Jacob stole away after twice seven years of hateful service. In the exemplum which Mrs. Brown discusses, the romantic aspects of the Biblical story are presented; the latently comic aspects of Jacob's history may have been exploited in the versions I assume as fore-hints for the Launcelot Gobbo scenes,—scenes which scholars from Furness to Dover Wilson have been loath to accept as wholly Shakspeare's. One may see here vestiges of a farce utilizing well-known characters of the Bible for much low comedy.

That the development had come through the drama is variously indicated. Incentive thereto in England is furnished as early as 1551 when Martin Bucer, in a treatise presented to King Edward VI as a New Year's gift, speaks his approval of plays "both for exercise of youth, and for the honest and not unprofitable delectation of the public" if these plays were written by "learned and pious men."

²*Mediaeval Prototypes of Jessica and Lorenzo*, by Beatrice Daws Brown; *MLN*, 44 (1929) 227.

For comic themes he suggests "the dissention between the Shepherds of Abraham and Lot, the marriage of Isaac and Rebecca, and Jacob's service amongst the flocks of Laban."³ Bucer was at this time Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, therefore in a position to influence playwrights for the university students, school boys, and the Children of the Chapel Royal. Somewhat later, Geoffrey Fenton made a similar selection of Biblical themes: "I wish that in place of daunces at mariages the time were supplied with some comical or historical show of the auncient mariages of Abraham and Sara, of Isaac and Rebecca, and of the two Tobies and their wiues, matters honest and tending much to edify the assistaunts."⁴ But that edification was too frequently sacrificed to amusement is the complaint uttered, possibly by the converted dramatist Anthony Munday, whose tale of *Zelauto* has been studied in relation to the plot of *The Merchant of Venice*, that "the reverend word of God & histories of the Bible, set forth on the stage by these blasphemous plaiers, are so corrupted with their gestures of scurrilitie, and so interlaced with uncleane, and whorish speeches, that it is not posible to drawe anie profite out of the doctrine of their spiritual moralities."⁵

The play of *Jacob and Esau*,⁶ to which I now turn, might well shock a tender conscience in its persistent "scurrilitie" toward Esau while decking Jacob with every modest and pious trait. It is manifestly a school play, for which both Udall, Headmaster of Eton, and Hunnis, Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal, have been tentatively suggested as author. Since it is easily accessible, I shall confine myself to noting certain points which might have offered suggestion for *The Merchant of Venice*.

Its prologue and the emphasis in the play itself upon the righteousness of Rebecca's device to outwit her husband seem strikingly to anticipate two points in the debate between Shylock and Antonio on "interest"—that topic of

³E. K. Chambers: *The Elizabethan Stage*. 1923. II: 239-40.

⁴Geoffrey Fenton: *A Form of Christian Pollicie gathered out of French*, 1574.

⁵*A Second and Third blast of retrait from plates and theaters*, 1580, p. 144, quoted by Chambers, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

⁶Published in Dodsley's *Old Plays*, Volume 2, and re-edited by W. Bang, in 1908.

engrossing concern to Elizabethans, and certain Shaksperian commentators today. You remember the famous lines of Shylock's defense as he relates how Jacob enriched himself at Laban's expense and Antonio's retort that this was

"A thing not in his power to bring to pass,
But sway'd and fashion'd by the hand of Heaven."

In the prologue to *Jacob and Esau* we read:

“But before Jacob and Esau yet born were,
Or had either done good, or ill perpetrate:
As the prophet Malachi and Paul witness bear,
Jacob was chosen, and Esau reprobate:
Jacob I love (saith God) and Esau I hate.
For it is not, (saith Paul) in man’s renewing or will,
But in God’s mercy, who chooseth whom he will.”

and the next stanza reiterates the doctrine that

" whatever God's ordinaunce was,
Nothing might defeat but that it must come to pass,"

just as Antonio declares to Shylock.

The first scene presents, in the grudging and abusive Esau and his wittily complaining servant Ragan, much that suggests the unhappy relations between Shylock and Launcelot Gobbo. Ragan, entering with hunting equipment and three greyhounds, "or one as may be gotten", complains of having been dragged from his bed while it is yet starlight. Here the stage direction is given: "Here he counterfeiteth how his master calleth him up in the mornings, and of his answers," and we see not only that method later utilized by Launcelot Gobbo but also a situation as intolerable as that from which Launcelot flees.

"What the devil aileth him! Now truly I think plain
He hath some worms or botts in his brain,
He scarcely sleepeth twelve good hours in two weeks,
I wot well his watching maketh me have lean cheeks,
For there is none other life with him day by day,
But, up, Ragan! up, drowsy hoghead! I say:
Why, when? up, will it not be ? up! I come anon.
Up, or I shall raise you in faith, ye drowsy whoreson.
Why when? shall I fet you? I come, sir, by and by . . ."

Compare this with Shylock's impatient summons of his daughter while reluctantly releasing Launcelot Gobbo from his service:

"Well, thou shalt see, thy eyes shall be thy judge,
The difference of old Shylock and Bassanio: . . .
What, Jessica! . . . Thou shalt not gormandize,
As thou hast done with me: . . . What, Jessica! . . .
And sleep and snore, and rend apparel out; . . .
Why, Jessica, I say!"

Ragan's self-communion continues as he recalls how he and his master range the wild forest, "no crumb of bread from morning to night",

"But if I be found slack in the suit following, . . .
He will be quick enough to fume, chafe, and chide,
Am I not well at ease such a master to serve,
As will have such service, and yet will let me starve?"

Esau enters and is as violently abusive, as Ragan's soliloquy has led us to expect.

As these quotations show, it is Ragan, rather than the pious, mother-led Jacob who offers points for Launcelot Gobbo. Jacob, in fact, after a scene where Esau's pangs of hunger are presented with startling realism, shows a spirit akin to Shylock's in his close bargaining over the mess of pottage and his care to make the contract binding. But it is Esau who resembles Shylock as a violent, grudging master, and later in his furious rage for vengeance against Jacob. The play is unusually strong in characterization for one so early, and might well have attracted Shakspeare's attention, not only for the points already mentioned, but also because of Rebecca's skill in rationalizing her device for deceiving her husband. But with the scene in which Jacob wins his father's blessing the play becomes too serious for further analysis as comedy and it does not extend beyond his flight from home. It does not offer, therefore, the comparison it might with the Jessica and Lorenzo plot and only a little toward the clowning perhaps once connected with some other play about Jacob.

It is to the *Commedia dell'Arte* that one may turn for full exploitation of such gifts of mimicry and comedy as the

play just discussed shows in germ in Ragan and the delightful child Midi. Such recourse is the more natural because of the name and rôle of Gratiano in both *The Merchant of Venice* and the Italian improvised drama. In the latter, no character is more popular than the Doctor Gratiano of Bologna, whose academic gown and hood were often uncouthly splotted to indicate his wine-bibbing propensities, and whose name became synonymous with fool in Italy and Spain. Such a Gratiano might, in one or more of his endlessly varied rôles, very easily supply the part in our play. Note his first appearance with professional comment that Antonio "looks not well," and learned discourse prefaced:

" Let me play the fool:
With mirth and laughter let old wrinkles come;"

His harangue is dismissed by Bassanio as "an infinite deal of nothing," for Bassanio speaks from old experience. He knows Gratiano's variety of "parts" whose "skipping spirit" he later urges his follower to "allay with some cold drops of modesty." But, on the whole, he is more romantically treated by Shakspeare than in the Italian comedies.

Launcelot Gobbo, on the other hand, is nearer the typical Italian fool or zany, even to the suggestion of the usual physical as well as mental deformity implicit in his name—Gobbo—or hunchback. The Italian phrase "mettere in gobbo"—to pawn at the Monte de Pieta—accurately defines his relation to Shylock. The former relation to Rachel or Leah—Jessica, which I hypothecate, may possibly linger in the name Launcelot—"ergo, Master Launcelot"—rather than to connect that name with Lance, whom he nevertheless resembles. His first appearance, in debate with himself, is in accord with an immemorial stage device of the zanni who delighted in exhibiting agility in flashing from one rôle to another.

By rare good fortune, since improvised drama does not often reach the printed page, I have found account of a scene that in stage action is sufficiently like that in which Launcelot Gobbo first appears. It is in the oldest scenario of the Italian comedy described by Winifred Smith⁷ in her

⁷Smith, Winifred: *The Commedia dell'Arte*, pp. 103-108.

book on *The Commedia dell'Arte*,—a play presented by amateurs at the wedding of the Duke of Bavaria in 1568 with the assistance of two "professional" actors, two clowns who remind me a little of our two Gobbos. Their scene is preceded by one in which the young lover is cast from the height of contentment, with fortune and love, to grievous exile from his lady Camilla by the arrival of a fateful letter from his brother, a situation remotely like that of Bassanio's after his fortunate casket choice. Now enters the Pantalone dressed as a Magnificoe but wearing a mask which the mere sight of made everybody laugh. Lute in hand, he plays and sings an absurd love-ditty, then rehearses a long discourse between himself and his beloved. (To such a dotard lover might well be applied the ridiculously contrasting names of our Launcelot Gobbo, who equally delights in self-commiseration and self-dramatizing.) To him now enters Zanne, who not having seen his Pantalone for years, does not recognize him until after much quarrelling. "Then for joy Zanne took his master on his shoulders and they turned like a windmill. . . ." May one perhaps read into this a hint for Launcelot Gobbo's jugglery with his father, with whom he will "try confusions," but his whirling to give the old man the back of his head to feel instead of his face as a comic reminiscence of Jacob's deception of Isaac? A dramatic improvement upon the mere whirling in the Italian farce. Here, after absurd lament for his dead wife, Pantalone bade Zanne carry some pullets to his beloved. Zanne promised to speak for his master, but presenting the gift as his own, won favor for himself instead. (Zanne, like Launcelot Gobbo and Jacob, you see, turns the food-offering to his own advantage and the defeat of its original object.)

I do not for a moment offer this scene as a "source" for that between Launcelot and old Gobbo, but only as an example, probably one of many, which remotely approaches the stage action in that scene, and which is typical of the method of the Italian actors who undeniably influenced the English. In the *Commedia dell'Arte* one finds a light impudence and irreverence even in the treatment of serious

themes which makes it natural to seek here the transformation of Biblical themes to material for comedy.

But now to turn to *The Merchant of Venice* itself and see how far it reveals an awareness of both the romantic treatment of Jacob's love for Rachel, finally resulting in the Jessica-Lorenzo plot, and the comic treatment of his deception not only of his father but also of his master, Laban. In the scenes where Launcelot Gobbo appears I find it possible to see vestiges of some interlude or farce in which the story of Jacob has been dramatized with much low comedy, and also indications that the plot was later romanticized by the substitution of Lorenzo as hero.

Launcelot Gobbo first appears as he meditates flight from his Jewish master. The name Gobbo appears in the Heyes Quarto a half dozen times as Iobbe—a possible corruption for Iacobo. As he is running away, he is halted by the entrance of his father, who, as later appears, brings the offer of a toothsome dish for his son's master,—a reversal of the rôles in the Genesis story, where the son brings to his father, as prologue to his deception, Isaac's favorite dish. Because his father is blind, Iobbe (or Jacobo) mischievously determines to "try confusions" with him. The conversation that follows can surely be interpreted as a ribald echo of the Biblical scene in which Jacob, disguised as Esau, secures his father Isaac's blessing. I will confine myself to quoting the relevant lines for your comparison with *Genesis XVII*.

G. "... the boy was the very staff of my age, my very prop."

L. "... Do you not know me, father?"

G. "Alack the day, I know you not, young gentleman: but, I pray you, tell me, is my boy, God rest his soul, alive or dead?"

L. "Do you not know me, father?"

G. "Alack, sir, I am sand-blind; I know you not."

L. "Nay, indeed, if you had your eyes, you might fail of the knowing me: It is a wise father that knows his own child. Well, old man, give me your blessing.

G. "Pray you, sir, stand up: I am sure you are not Launcelot, my boy."

- L. "Pray you, let's have no more fooling about it, but give me your blessing: I am Launcelot, your boy that was, your son that is, your child that shall be."
- G. "I cannot think you are my son."
- L. "I know not what I shall think of that: but I am Launcelot, the Jew's man; and I am sure Margery your wife is my mother."
- G. "Her name is Margery, indeed: I'll be sworn, if thou be Launcelot, thou art mine own flesh and blood. Lord worshipped might he be! what a beard hast thou got! thou hast got more hair on thy chin than Dobbin my fill horse has on his tail." . . . "Lord, how art thou changed! How dost thou and thy master agree? I have brought him a present. How 'gree you now?"
- L. "Well, well: but, for mine own part, as I have set up my rest to run away, so will I not rest till I have run some ground . . ."

In the ensuing distorted and interrupted conference with Bassanio, one may perchance not too wilfully find a few echoes of Jacob's probable suit to Laban. Those two, we remember, are "scarce cater-cousins." One (Esau and Shylock) "having done me wrong, doth cause me" to "leave a rich Jew's service, to become the follower" of another. To an ear thus attuned, is not Iobbe's rueful (?) expectation of a "plurality of wives," as he reads the line of life in his palm, a reminder of Jacob's twain, plus their servants' two? His earlier phrase, "as I have set up my rest," might recall Jacob's dream, when he was running away, of the ladder "set upon the earth." One remembers that "Jacob rose up early in the morning, and took the stone that he had for a pillock, and set it up for a pillar . . ." "And Jacob vowed a vow, saying, If God will be with me, and will keep me in this way that I go, and will give me bread to eat and raiment to put on. . . ." Such a proviso, if it be not sacrilegious to suggest it, would appeal to Iobbe, who complains of Shylock, "I am famished in his service," and looks forward to serving "Master Bassanio who, indeed, gives rare new liveries: if I serve not him, I will run as far as God has any ground."

In the following scene, Jessica (the name Leah of Jacob's

first wife is transferred to her mother, one notes at Shylock's outcry: "my turquoise! I had it of Leah when I was a bachelor") sorrowfully bids farewell to Launcelot and gives him money, as does the girl in Mrs. Brown's exemplum who, as here, is left at home. True, Jessica does flee later, with Lorenzo. Here, as in the exemplum, and not in Massuccio, the planning is her's, not her lover's. This exemplum, then, which Mrs. Brown thinks, served Shakspeare's purpose better than the later development by Massuccio, would, if it were Shakspeare's source, be utilized not only to account for Shylock's maddened rage of vengefulness but also to raise Jessica's love from the level of low comedy, consequent upon her possible original relations with Iobbe, to the romantic tone of the rest of the play. Therefore, in this scene and the next the young Italian Lorenzo is first introduced as her lover. Her prior connection with Launcelot Gobbo, however, may be implied from the unpleasant jesting between the two about her parents, barely hinted in Act II but more fully developed in Act III, and there followed by a significant bit of dialog when Lorenzo, entering, pretends jealousy of Launcelot Gobbo and Jessica retorts, "Nay, . . . Launcelot and I are out."⁸

And so in this scene, where Shakspeare vents also his dislike of mere "wit-snappers," Launcelot Gobbo drops out of the drama, too, except for a moment's clownish play as post-boy in Act V. But Jacob is not so easily dismissed from Shakspeare's thought. Scholars have called attention to the stately Biblical idioms with which he has clothed the speech of Shylock, but I have seen no note of how frequently this is inspired by the chapter in *Genesis* which deal with Jacob's story. Jacob is directly recalled not merely when Shylock swears by Jacob's staff but more fully in the famous passage where Shylock defends interest by relating Jacob's trickery

⁸Can there be a reference to an earlier trick played upon Jacob by Laban in Launcelot's obscure taunt about the Moor in III: v? I make the suggestion with reluctance; but certainly Leah was with "more than reason" one of whom Jacob could say "if she be less than an honest woman, she is indeed more than I took her for." The word Moor, interpretative of no name of Jacob's wives or concubines, is doubtless introduced for the sake of the pun—so beloved by all clowns. It may be idle to suggest that Nerissa, which means black, has replaced an earlier blackamoor; for Shakspeare avoids the tasteless situations as he does the insipid loves of the dotards in Italian comedy.

in provision for his flight from Laban with his numerous family.

Laban does not show Shylock's dislike of music and festivity, yet may have suggested to him the sneer against "the vile squealing of the wry-necked fife" and "this sound of shallow foppery" when he reproached Jacob for having "stolen away unawares to me, and carried away my daughters . . . I might have sent thee away with mirth, and with songs, with tabret, and with harp . . . yet wherefore hast thou stolen my gods?" Behold how early in the long history of father's outcry—more often, to be sure, against rascally son than daughter—is this juxtaposition of daughter and ducats (or treasure more precious to Laban). When Jacob, who "knew that Rachel had stolen them," pronounces the customary imprecation against a thief, "let him not live!" he utters the curse expressly forbidden to Laban in a vision. Shylock, not so restrained, hisses: "I would my daughter were dead at my feet and the ducats in her coffin!" but a reminiscence of the restraint put upon Laban is suggested in the words which immediately follow from Shylock: "why, thou loss upon loss: the thief gone with so much, and so much to find the thief; and no satisfaction, no revenge!" Like Shylock, Laban fails completely to recover anything and is forced to accept his defeat and to recognize the power of the God of his son-in-law.

Quite startling is it, in looking up the cross references to the verse where Laban calls upon the God of their fathers to "judge betwixt us," to find at the beginning of the designated eighth chapter of Isaiah the remarkable name Maher-shalal-hash-baz, with marginal interpretation: "In making speed to the spoil he hasteneth the prey." Is it too fanciful to suggest that the middle part of this name of sinister import in its similarity of sound to Shalabbin: "place of foxes or jackals," reminded Shakspeare that jackal was a common Elizabethan nickname for usurer? One remembers how Shylock harps upon the fact that Antonio has called him a dog:

"Thou calledst me dog before thou hadst a cause;
But since I am a dog, beware my fangs."

Now even more common than jackal as Elizabethan nickname for usurer was cormorant, and for this, as Sir Israel Gollancz⁹ has pointed out, the Hebrew Bible gives the word "shallach" in naming animals to be avoided in the diet of pious Jews; and so it entered the Bible dictionaries current in the Elizabethan period. From this, Gollancz says, Shaksper fashioned the name Shylock.

Other Jewish names in the play, with their significant interpretation, we may also owe to Shakspeare's close study of the *Genesis* story. Both Gollancz and Elze before him have traced the name Jessica to the Biblical Ischah: "she who looketh out." When Rebecca urges her son to flee Esau's wrath, she says: "... flee thou to Laban my brother to Haran." It is significant that the marginal reference to this verse directs us to the chapter where Haran is mentioned as the father of Ischah, as in the preceding chapter Shylock's friends, Tubal and Cush, are also mentioned. Gollancz and Elze note that it is Jessica who, by her looking out "beyond her father's home and by her heartless defection, goaded him to distraction." Both Rebecca and Isaac warn Jacob against taking a wife outside his race, and Rebecca's tragic cry, "... if Jacob take a wife of the daughters of Heth, such as these which are of the daughters of the land, what good shall my life do me?" she as truly exposes her double interest as does Shylock in his exclamation, "My ducats and my daughter," and bitter outcry:

"I have a daughter;
Would any of the stock of Barrabas
Had been her husband rather than a Christian."

Evidence that the association of Jessica with Rachel was early, and was still current in 1701, when Lord Lansdowne revised *The Merchant of Venice*, is seen in the couplet where he makes Lorenzo thus geet the eloping Jessica:

⁹Gollancz: *op. cit.*, p. 41-42; also his note on Shakspeare's use of names in his essay in *The Book of Homage*, 1916. Elze is quoted on Jessica in the Variorum edition of *The Merchant of Venice*.

¹⁰See the Variorum *Merchant of Venice* for Lord Lansdowne's revision. Here also is reprinted the old ballad of *The Northern Lord*, which is reminiscent of Jacob's dilemma with its two sisters of contrasted beauty as well as of Shylock's cruelly demanded "bond."

"So whilest old *Laban* snor'd in Bed
Jacob with sprightly *Rachel* fled."

and Jessica furthers the damning comparison:

"His gold, and gems of Price they took,
And eke the Flower of every Flock."

This pert Jessica is reminiscent of the wanton who callously gave her father's precious turquoise in exchange for a monkey and who bandied low jests with Launcelot Gobbo, for whom in these two situations and in her unfeeling comments upon her father, she seems more fit mate for Lorenzo. But this is not the usual Jessica.

From the evidence presented in this paper one may justifiably conjecture that Shakspeare may have known in dramatic forme the farcical development of the Jacob story, of which vestiges still adhere in our play, but, finding the romantic treatment which the exemplum offers more suited to his purpose, he substituted that for the wooing, yet retained some of the clowning of the original hero to please the public, and by thus doubling the rôles has managed to "try confusions" with his audience. In the more serious *Jacob and Esau*, aspects of Jewish character are suggested which could be utilized to cater to the prejudices of the day. Turning from these possible sources to the Bible itself, Shakspeare would find the interpretations of names which he could subtly turn to his own purposes and an immense enrichment of the conception of the Jew both in character and in diction. Here Shakspeare's hand is unmistakable.

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AN INSERTION IN
A MIDSUMMER-NIGHT'S DREAM

By N. B. ALLEN

IN their edition of *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*¹ J. Dover Wilson and Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch comment on Theseus' speech at the beginning of Act V. They declare that the blank verse of the passage in the first quarto is confused because certain of the lines were after-thoughts, added by Shakspeare to the margin of the MS. and therefore broken up on account of lack of room. In the following quotation of the passage, oblique bars are introduced to indicate the correct lineation, and certain lines (4-16) are boxed in for reasons which will appear later:

Hip. Tis strange, my Theseus, that these louers speake of.

The. More straunge then true. I neuer may beleuee
These antique fables, nor these Fairy toyes.

- | | |
|----|--|
| | Louers, and mad men haue such seething braines, / |
| 5 | Such shaping phantasies, that apprehend / more
Then coole reason euer comprehends. / The lunaticke,
The louer, and the Poet / are of imagination all compact. /
One sees more diuels, then vast hall can holde: /
That is the mad man. The louer, all as frantick, / |
| 10 | Sees <i>Helens</i> beauty in a brow of Aegypt. /
The Poets eye, in a fine frenzy, rolling, / doth glance
From heauen to earth, from earth to heauen. / And as
Imagination bodies forth / the formes of things
Unknowne: the Poets penne / turnes them to shapes, |
| 15 | And giues to avery nothing, / a locall habitation,
And a name.. / Such trickes hath strong imagination,
That if it would but apprehend some ioy,
It comprehends some bringer of that ioy.
Or in the night, imagining some feare, |
| 20 | How easie is a bush suppos'd a Beare?
<i>Hyp.</i> But, all the story of the night told ouer,
And all their minds transfigur'd so together,
More witnesseth than fancies images,
And growes to something of great constancy: |
| 25 | But howsoeuer, strange and admirable. |

According to Wilson and Quiller-Couch² the mislined lines of the above quotation, that is lines 5-7 and the part

¹Cambridge, England, 1924. See pp. 80-86.

²E. K. Chambers (*William Shakespeare, A Study of Facts and Problems*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1930, 1, 360-361) agrees with them.

of the passage beginning with line 11 and extending to the end of the sentence in line 16, are the ones that were added.

It seems more likely, however, that the whole portion of the speech from line 4 to the break in line 16 (the part which has been boxed in above) was added, and that the correct lineation of parts of it is due to chance. For according to Wilson's and Quiller-Couch's explanation line 8 originally followed line 4, and this seems unlikely. The order in which the madman and the lover are treated in lines 8-10 and the fact that the words are singular and not plural make it seem more probable that line 8 was written to follow line 7 as it does now, and not line 4. Moreover, if the whole boxed-in portion is removed, a consecutive speech remains. The latter part of line 16 follows naturally after line 3; and the reference of the word "their" in the second line of Hippolyta's following speech (line 22) is much clearer than it becomes when the insertion is restored to its place.

But there is another problem. In the first three lines of the inserted passage (lines 4-6) Shakspeare uses two of the words he had already used in lines 16-20 below—"apprehend" and "comprehend"; and the sense of the two groups of lines is very much the same. Why this repetition? Apparently the answer is that the passage Shakspeare had ready to insert began with

"The lunatick, the louer, and the Poet."

In order to lead up to it he decided to revise lines 16-20 and wrote the first lines of the insertion as it now stands to take their place. The printer, however, failed to notice Shakspeare's mark of deletion—as he later failed to notice the one pointing to a discarded ending³—and printed both passages.

If this explanation is correct, modern editors might very well omit the last four and a half lines of Theseus' speech, just as they omit from *Romeo and Juliet* the lines in Romeo's last speech of II, 2, which are repeated by the Friar at the beginning of II, 3.

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³See Wilson's and Quiller-Couch's note on V, 1, 378-429, and E. K. Chambers' support of their contention, *op. cit.*, I, 360-361.

FOUR EARLY SHAKSPERE ALLUSIONS

By WILLIAM SLOANE

A REMARKABLY early allusion to Shakspere and some other Elizabethan poets occurs in verses "To the Reader" prefixed to Robert Roche's *Eustathia or the Constancie of Susanna* (Oxford, 1599) :¹

Expect not heere, th' invention, or the vaine,
Of *Lucrece rape-write*: or the curious scan,
Of *Phillis* friend; or famous fairy-*Swaine*;
Or *Delias* prophet, or admired man.
My chicken fethered wings, no ympes enrich,
Pens not full sum'd, mount not so high a pitch.

Let *Colin* reare his flight to admiration,
And traine his louely flocke, his pipe to follow.
Let *Damons* reach, out-reach all imitation;
And frame melodious hymnes, to please Apollo.
The swaine that pend this pastorall for Pan;
Thought once to end his worke, ere began.

Damon and "*Phillis* friend" would probably be one and the same, Thomas Lodge; "*Delias* prophet" would be Samuel Daniel; and Colin would be Spenser, "famous fairy-*Swaine*." The probably unique copy of *Eustathia* in the Bodleian formerly belonged to Robert Burton.²

* * * *

Though William Martyn, the "Recorder of the honourable Citie of Exeter," was of course a student of historical writings, the following extract from his *Youths Instruction* (London, 1612) perhaps shows his familiarity with Falstaff, Prince Hal, and the rest of their crew. The passage occurs when Martyn warns his son to avoid evil company:³

Who but the vnthrifty companions of *Henry* the fift, made him a wild, and a swaggering Prince? And what but their banishment? and a mutuall conuerse with his graue, and prudent counsellors of estate, made him afterwards to be a most renowned and a peerless king?

* * * *

¹Sig. A^s verso.

²F. Madan, *Oxford Books*, I, 47.

³p. 38. Copies in Brit. Mus. and Huntington Lib.

Among the books advertised for sale by William Leake, at the end of *Aula Lucis, Or, The House of Light: A Discourse written in the year 1651. By S. N. a Modern Speculator*. (London, Leake, 1652),⁴ will be found a group of plays which include *Henry IV*, *Othello, or the Moore of Venice*, and *The Marchant of Venice*.

* * * *

Listed among "PLAYS Printed for, and Sold by, R. Wellington, at the Lute in St. Paul's Church-yard," at the end of Obadiah Walker's *Of Education* (6th edit., London, 1699),⁵ are *Macbeth*, *Timon of Athens*, *Titus Andronicus*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Hamlet*, and *The Tempest*. In this advertisement and in the one in *Aula Lucis*, playwrights' names do not appear.

Hamilton College
Clinton, N. Y.

⁴Copy in Thomason Collection, Brit. Mus.

⁵Copy in Columbia University.

EDITORIAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

By S. A. T.

A HAMLET FACSIMILE

The Henry E. Huntington Library—one of the few institutions which seem to exist for the purpose of rendering service rather than of maintaining high-salaried jobs for favorites—has just issued a very useful collotype facsimile of its copy of the second quarto (1604) *Hamlet*. Earlier facsimiles and reprints are now scarce and, unfortunately, unreliable reproductions of the original. This quarto is evidently a poorly printed book on thin paper, and consequently the facsimile is in spots so blurred and the "look-through" so dark that the reading of the text is sometimes almost impossible; but, for all this, Shaksperian scholars will find this facsimile of the greatest value in their study of *Hamlet*, especially nowadays when so much Shakspeare scholarship is on a drunken jag of irresponsibility, most especially with regards to this play.

Professor Oscar J. Campbell of Columbia University has written an interesting nine-page introduction for the book in which, we are happy to see, he has not wholly or definitely committed himself to the absurd and vicious views of the self-styled "scientific bibliographers." But on page 11 he tells us that this quarto throws interesting light upon the character of "Shakespeare's punctuation"—than which almost nothing can be worse. We quote Professor Campbell: "The pointing is curiously simple. The comma is almost the only mark of punctuation used. The period almost never appears, the semicolon usually indicating the full stop." These statements are so widely at variance with the facts that one wonders whether

Dr. Campbell had the opportunity to examine the precious book. In act I, sc. 1, there are only nine semicolons, 5 colons, 10 query marks, and 54 periods! In I, ii, there are 9 semicolons, 9 colons, 22 query marks, and 59 periods! In I, iii, there are only 2 semicolons, 4 colons, 4 query marks, but 24 periods! In I, iv, there are only 2 semicolons, 3 colons, 7 query marks, and 25 periods! In I, v, there are 7 semicolons, 4 colons, 5 query marks, and 63 periods! Surely these statistics are sufficient to disprove Dr. Campbell's allegations—probably borrowed from an irresponsible source—regarding the punctuation of the play.

Notwithstanding all the criticism which has, in our opinion, completely annihilated the Simpsonian theory of dramatic punctuation, Dr. Campbell says: "This apparently loose employment of the comma gives some weight to the theory that Elizabethan pointing of dramatic texts was designed not so much to indicate logical relationships as desired elocutionary effects." According to this theory, the quarto punctuation shows us "Shakespeare's idea of the proper manner of delivering important speeches and the conventional practice of actors." That these views cannot possibly represent the truth will be evident to anyone who attempts to read the following extracts as punctuated in Q2:

"Horatio saies tis but our fantasie,
And will not let beliefe take holde of
him,
Touching this dreaded sight twice seene
of vs,
Therefore I haue intreated him along,
With vs to watch the minuts of this
night,
That if againe this apparision come,
He may approoue our eyes and speake
to it."

If Shakspeare indicated all those commas at the ends of the verses and felt no need for punctuation marks within the speech, he must have written these lines after a bibulous session with a dark lady. And who is so naïve as to believe that on the Elizabethan stage, famed for elocution, an actor ever read the speech that way? Such reading is tolerated only in the unrepresenting halls of our public schools, reading clubs and universities.

Let's have a look at another example:

"And euen the like precurse of feare
[sic] euentis

And harbindgers preceeding still the
fates

And prologue to the *Omen* comming on
Haue heauen and earth together demon-
strated

Vnto our Climates and countrymen."

Imagine, if you can, an actor reading this speech as punctuated and being permitted to go on with his part. Just one other example:

"But looke the morne in russet mantle
clad

Walkes ore the dewe of yon high East-
ward hill

Breake we our watch vp and by my
aduise

Let vs impart what we haue seene to
night

Vnto young *Hamlet*, for vpon my life
This spirit dumb to vs, will speake to
him:"

Enough of dramatic punctuation, even though we have no hope that those who have not investigated the claims of pseudo-scientific bibliographers will stop teaching their students that "such distortions [in spelling and punctuation] show that the compositor must have followed his copy *literatim* and that he reproduced its punctuation mechanically and uncritically." In other words, we are to believe that the vagaries of an ignorant, stupid, and indifferent mechanic give us a faithful transcript of what Shakspeare wrote.

On page 9 Professor Campbell seems to support the suggestion of Mr. McKerrow "that some of the worst cruxes in Elizabethan texts have been caused by correctors who had tried to clear up the confusion made by a careless or incompetent compositor, without consulting the original manuscript from which the printer [!] had worked." But Mr. McKerrow has presented not the slightest particle of proof in support of this "belief." All that may be said in its favor is that it is *not impossible* that sometimes a textual error originated in this way—in the absence of the manuscript. It is obvious, however, that a person employed as a corrector in a printery would, if he suspected an error, consult the author's manuscript and not resort to guessing. In the case of *Hamlet* the ms. was available.

Scholars who are interested in making an independent and unbiased study of *Hamlet* will do well to provide themselves with the Huntington Library's offer of its facsimiles of quartos 1 and 2 for \$5.

DAVID GARRICK

David Garrick, the theatrical miracle of the eighteenth century, was not a literary genius of the first rank; but he is of interest to Shaksperians and to others interested in the drama because he loved his Shakspeare, devoted his best abilities to interpreting him on the stage, attempted to popularize him by adapting eight or nine of his plays to eighteenth-century taste, and by writing (adapting, translating) a large number of fairly entertaining plays, alone and in collaboration with Colman.

These plays by Garrick are not readily accessible to general readers; they are therefore almost wholly unknown,

except to a few specialists. One of these specialists is Dr. Elizabeth P. Stein, who has devoted many years to the affectionate study of Garrick's work. As a result of these studies she has now published a delightfully readable book on her hero in which she tells interestingly the stories of the plays as well as of the circumstances and events connected with the writing of each. Nor does she neglect his "sources," his squabbles with his collaborator, and the high-lights in the characterizations. Garrick as a moralist and would-be reformer of many of the foibles and affectations of his contemporaries—even though his primary purpose was only to amuse his audiences—is not neglected. The reader, therefore, learns not only a great deal about Garrick and his plays but also about his environment and the theatre for which he worked.

The book (*David Garrick, Dramatist*, published by The Modern Language Association of America, and made by the George Banta Publishing Company) is excellently printed (being freer from typographical errors than any other book we have recently examined—testifying to the author's skill and patience as a proof-reader), tastefully bound, and—withstanding its 333 pages and its 12 full-page illustrations—marketed for only \$2.50. Before dismissing this subject, we must call attention to two important points: the book has what is in all probability a complete bibliography of Garrick's plays and an index which can serve as a model for all scholarly books.

CLUBS, BILLS!

At the suggestion of our president and at the request of some of our members, we herewith throw open the

pages of our learned BULLETIN to reports of the activities of Shakspeare clubs anywhere in these United States. It is generally believed that almost every city, town, and hamlet in this country has its Shakspeare club, including of course, also its Bacon-Rutland-Oxford varieties. All these organizations worship the bard and his works; regularly recurring meetings are devoted to the reading and discussion of the plays and poems as well as occasionally of the works of some of his contemporaries. Unquestionably the bills of the programs of these meetings—including reports of birthday celebrations—would be read with great interest by those sending the reports as well as by others. And undoubtedly such reports would serve to stimulate an interest in Shakspeare in many who at present are not doing anything for Shakspeare, for the drama and for what is best in literature.

Secretaries of Shakspeare clubs are therefore invited to send us copies of their programs and reports.

AN IMPORTANT BOOK

From the Stanford University Press there comes the announcement that it is ready to go ahead with the printing of Professor B. Roland Lewis's great work, *The Shakespeare Documents: Facsimiles, Transliterations, Translations and Commentary*, on which he has been steadily at work for almost twenty years. We are promised that in this work the student will find "the entire corpus of the important [!] documentary and contemporary printed material relating to Shakespeare" subjected to exhaustive study. An important feature of this book, which will give it special value to research students, will be the large number, some sixty-odd, of facsimiles of Shak-

sperian documents made from photographs of the originals. The publishers assure us that all the technical resources of modern methods of reproduction have been taken advantage of "to screen off ink-blotches, grease spots, mould spots, crushed-vermin spots, etc." If this is so, these facsimiles will be of greater value to scholars than the originals. In connection with this we are also promised a great deal of "original critical commentary upon each item."

The book is to be printed in a limited edition, the number depending upon the number of subscribers, in two tall volumes (11 x 14 inches), on fine paper and in a handsome cloth binding, for \$25. After the publication of the book the price will be raised to \$35. Moral: Order now, save \$10 and secure a book of permanent value.

A GREAT VARIORUM

The twenty-second volume of the Furness variorum edition of Shakspeare's works reached us a few days ago. It is Professor Hyder E. Rollins's edition of the *Poems*, that is, of *The Rape of Lucrece*, *Venus and Adonis*, *The Passionate Pilgrim*, *The Phoenix and the Turtle*, and *A Lover's Complaint*. The *Sonnets* are not included, obviously because Professor Raymond M. Alden's admirable variorum edition of these poems is available to scholars and because they could not be treated in one volume with the other poems. In format, printing, and other mechanical features, this volume is an exact counterpart of the other volumes in the series, with the agreeable exception of having all the bolts trimmed. As usual, the book bears the imprint of the J. B. Lippincott Com-

pany of Philadelphia, even though the copyright belongs to The Modern Language Association of America. Notwithstanding its 686 pages and five facsimiles, the book sells for only \$6.

Anyone who will give himself the pleasure of examining this volume with the care it deserves will agree with us that this is, out of all whooping, the best in the series. It wants nothing that we expect to find in a modern variorum of a classic. We have here a faithful reproduction of the texts of the original editions, a minute and accurate collation of subsequent texts, an abundant and wisely-chosen selection of commentary, essays on the texts, sources, dates of composition, questions of authenticity, and so forth. Above all, the student will find that all this work has been done by the editor in the most scholarly, most logical, and most tolerant spirit—qualities of the utmost rarity anywhere, including Shaksperiana. A unique and valuable feature of this book is a section (12 pages!) devoted to an annotated list of musical settings to these poems.

Nothing in this world is perfect. This book is no exception to the rule, even though the imperfections are not of first-rate importance. The Shakspeare coat of arms on the front cover is, as usual, incorrect—for no good reason. The bibliography (pages 622-630)—this matter sticks deeper—is much too inadequate. And we would have liked to be given facsimiles of some of the good music written for some of these verses.

For all that, this book is destined to be the standard reference work on these poetical compositions for many years to come, and—what is much more important—a monument of sound and sensible American scholarship.

July, 1938

Vol. 13, No. 3

The Shakespeare Association Bulletin



The Humor of Corporal Nym

W. S. Gilbert and Shakspeare

"Macbeth" and "Paradise Lost"

Proverbs and Sententiae in the Plays of Shakspeare

The New Cambridge Shakspeare and

"The Two Gentlemen of Verona"

Published by

The Shakespeare Association of America, Inc.

601 West 118th Street, New York, N. Y.

The Shakespeare Association of America aims to unite all the lovers of the poet and to encourage and enlarge the widespread interest in his works. It will serve as a means of communication in the Shakesperian world, reporting what is being done in his honor or service, whether on the stage or in the schoolroom, in club or in university. Its purpose includes co-operation in every enterprise that will be helpful to a knowledge of the man and his works, whether scholarly, educational, or theatrical.

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THE HUMOR OF CORPORAL NYM

By JOHN W. DRAPER

“SLICE, I say! pauca, pauca; slice! that’s my humor.”¹ These are the first words of Corporal Nym when he first appears in Shakspere’s *Merry Wives*. The conventions of Elizabethan drama required that the keynote of a character be struck when the audience first meets him; and Corporal Nym’s initial words express the three chief facets of his personality: as a soldier, he declares that he will stab any who affront him, even as he now threatens to “slice” young Slender; in emulation of Parson Evans’ “pauca verba” some ten lines earlier, he cries out “pauca, pauca,” meaning to say that he is a man of great deeds rather than idle words; and further to support his nice pretensions to the gentility of arms, he indulges in the fashionable malady of a “humor”—that is in a superabundance of one of the four bodily fluids, a superabundance that was then supposed to affect both the physique and the mental life of the sufferer, sometimes even to the point of death or madness. Thus does the worthy Corporal, in the very first line he speaks, announce his dashing bravery, his ominous silence, and the elegant affliction of a “humor,” though which of the four humors he does not specify.

Nym ought to be important. He is the last of Falstaff’s followers to appear; and his introduction, therefore, should have some special point. Indeed, his part occurs in only the two final plays of the Falstaff series, in *Merry Wives* and *Henry V*: in the former, he warns Page and Ford of the fat knight’s machinations against their wives, and so arouses Ford’s jealousy,² and so prepares the way for Falstaff’s *contretemps* which form the centre of the plot; in the latter, he helps to supply the background of the war, and he voices the King’s reasons for the casting off of Falstaff.³ Despite this importance, however, in plot and setting and theme, Nym speaks in both plays together fewer than eighty lines: apparently, he lives up to his initial declaration of “pauca, pauca”; and, as if to emphasize this trait

¹*Merry Wives*, I, i, 119-120.

²*Ibid.*, I, iii, 68 *et seq.*; and II, i, 115 *et seq.*

³*Henry V*, II, i, 118-19 and 122-23.

still more, when he has made his final exit, still talking of "good humors" and "bad humors," Falstaff's "Boy" Robin once more reminds the audience of his laconic disposition, and suggests the reason for it:

For Nym, he hath heard [from Evans?] that men of few words are the best [bravest] men; and therefore he scorns to say his prayers, lest he should be thought a coward: but his few bad words are matched with as few good deeds; for he never broke any man's head but his own, and that against a post when he was drunk.⁴

Nym's mannered silences beget, when he breaks these silences, a mannered speech. His words are few and precious—indeed, so precious that Page calls him "a drawling, affecting rogue," and declares that he "frights English out of his [its] wits."⁵ In short, the brevity of Nym's colloquial style is purposefully calculated as an adjunct to his apparent martial prowess; and the few verbal airs and graces that his clipt talk permits likewise express his hopeful aspiration to the elegant gentility of his military betters. Nym, indeed, for all his silences, would like to fancy himself a master at persiflage: when Bardolph becomes tapster at the tavern, Nym applauds his new vocation as appropriate; for truly (says Nym) Bardolph "was [be-]gotten in drink."⁶ Apparently this *mot* is beneath the laughter of the company; and Nym, seeing his witticism fall flat, calls on the others to admire his neat whimsey; but he calls in vain. The Falstaff *coterie* was used to better joking.

Perhaps Nym's terse style and feeble jocularly are only an expression of his "humor"; for a humor might reveal itself in speech as well as in action and bodily state, and Nym's humor was pervasive. In *Merry Wives*, he repeats the word in almost every line he speaks; and in *Henry V*, it appears in his talk nine times. His use of it, to be sure, is so loose as to be "often meaningless,"⁷ and one almost wonders whether he knew just what a "humor" was. He never states, moreover, just which of the four humors supposedly afflicts him; and the present study, therefore, will attempt a diagnosis of his case.

Nym can hardly be a sufferer from too much blood. The

⁴*Henry V*, III, ii, 34 *et seq.*

⁵*Merry Wives*, II, i, 125 *et seq.*

⁶*Ibid.*, I, iii, 21.

⁷*Merry Wives*, ed. Furnivall, London, 1908, 149.

sanguine type of man was supposed to be handsome⁸ and generally fortunate:⁹ if Nym is handsome, the play does not imply it; and his ill-fortune is obvious in his squalid way of life and his miserable end, hanged by the neck for stealing.¹⁰ Moreover, he is certainly not "honest . . . just, true, benevolent, liberall, faithful, milde, godly, shamefast, magnanimous, religious . . ."¹¹ Romeo, in his love for Juliet, exemplifies the sanguine type;¹² and Nym is no Romeo.

Pistol describes Nym—perhaps he meant it for mere compliment—as the Mars of malecontents;¹³ and the "male-content" type was often associated with "melancholy,"¹⁴ the disease that arose from too much black bile in the system. This type was under the malific astral influence of Saturn;¹⁵ and this would agree with Nym's untimely end; and Nym's "few words"¹⁶ would also be proper to it, but this sparsity of speech was assumed rather than natural; and his other symptoms hardly accord with this disease. Despite his being "troth-plight" to Dame Quickly, he is no Count Orsino suffering from love-melancholy.¹⁷ Nor has he the religious melancholy of the Puritans: there is nothing Puritan¹⁸ about him! He does not appear to experience "Passions and Perturbations of the Mind."¹⁹ Indeed, he is neither a Jaques nor a Hamlet.²⁰

Nym, as a soldier, certainly should be under the influence of Mars: did not Pistol call him "the Mars of malecontents"? And those whose nativity placed them under this sign of the zodiac were supposed to suffer from too much yellow bile and so were of a choleric disposition. This type was given to "chyding . . . fighting, murther, robbery, sedition,"²¹ they were "angry, prompt of wit, nimble, incon-

⁸C. Dariot, *Judgement of the Starres*, tr. Wither, London, 1578, sig. D 2 v.

⁹L. Lemnie, *Touchstone of Complexions*, tr. Newton, London, 1581, leaves 86 v and 87 v; *Batman upon Barholome*, London, 1582, leaf 30 r.

¹⁰*Henry V*, IV, iv, 71.

¹¹Dariot, *op. cit.*, sig. D 2 v.

¹²See the present author, "Shakespeare's Star-Crossed Lovers," to appear.

¹³*Merry Wives*, I, iii, 9.

¹⁴See E. E. Stoll, *M.P.*, III, 282 *et seq.*

¹⁵Dariot, *op. cit.*, sig. D 2 r; and C 4 v.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, D 2 r.

¹⁷Perhaps his malady is assumed.

¹⁸R. Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Part III, Sec. iv.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, Part I, Sec. ii, 3.

²⁰See the present author, "Hamlet's Melancholy," *Ann. Med. Hist.*, IX N. S., 142-147; and G. A. Bieber, *Der Melancholikertypus Shakespeares*, Heidelberg, 1913.

²¹Lemnie, *op. cit.*, leaf 23 v.

stant;"²² and the humor was appropriate to "all warriors, brawlers, contumelious, . . . quarrellers, theeues . . ."²³ Such is the aged Lear.²⁵ But Nym, though more obviously a "warrior," is neither a Tybalt nor a Lear; and he is certainly not "prompt of wit," for all his wishful thinking.

Indeed, Nym in reality is no more a soldier than he is a master of repartee. He has little of a soldier's sense of honor and nothing of a soldier's bravery; and one even wonders whether his title of Corporal was not purely an assumption. He does, to be sure, refuse to play pander for Falstaff, and declares that he "will keep the havior of reputation"²⁶ and that he would rather be honest than eat;²⁷ but, in carrying out these worthy sentiments, he is not quite Cæsar's wife. He may flaunt a fine virtue in refusing to carry Falstaff's seductive letter; but, in his own affairs of the heart, he would seem to the Elizabethans pusillanimous. He was "troth-plight"²⁸ to the middle-aged but well-to-do Dame Quickly, whose affection Falstaff had apparently bequeathed him; but Pistol, with his pseudo-courtly graces, had of a sudden wooed and won the lady, and had, moreover, cheated Nym of a gambling debt of eight shillings; and even worse, when the latter bellowed for revenge, Pistol suggested that he "espouse" instead the "lazar kite" Doll Tearsheet. Surely all this should make a soldier fight; but Nym, after drawing his sword and returning it once or twice and threatening (quite soldier-like!) to stab Pistol "in fair terms" while he slept, is utterly mollified by the promise of the eight shillings and the threats of Lieutenant Bardolph: he shakes hands, and starts off for the wars, he and Pistol now "Yoke-fellows in arms."²⁹ Indeed, for all his bluster, he will on occasion "carry coals,"³⁰ i.e., endure affronts.

Not only in his personal affairs but also in the exercise of his profession, Nym's bravery is indeed predominantly

²²*Most Excellent Booke of Arcandam*, tr. Warde, London, 1592, sig. M 2 r.

²³Darlot, *op. cit.*, sig. D 3 r.

²⁴*Romeo and Juliet*, III, i, 150-51.

²⁵L. B. Campbell, *Shakespeare's Tragic Heroes*, Cambridge, 1930, Chap. xiv.

²⁶*Merry Wives*, I, iii, 75.

²⁷*Ibid.*, II, i, 115 *et seq.*

²⁸*Henry V*, II, i, 19.

²⁹*Ibid.*, II, iii, 54.

³⁰*Ibid.*, III, ii, 44-45. Cf. [Jones], *Booke of Honor and Arms*, London, 1590, Bk. II, Chap. i.

bluster; and he acts more like a roisterer of contemporary London than like a *bona fide* soldier. He first appears in *Merry Wives* roaring down Slender's accusations of thievery. Slender says that he is one of Falstaff's "cony-catching rascals;"³¹ and Falstaff later admits himself "damned in hell for swearing" to his friends that Nym and Pistol are "good soldiers and tall [brave] fellows."³² The Corporal himself declares that his sword is good, chiefly for toasting cheese; and his favorite weapon is a knife, when his enemy is asleep.³³ When he goes to the French wars, he remarks that he has but a single life,³⁴ and so had better cherish it; and indeed, he does no fighting. Robin declares that he "never broke any man's head but his own, and that against a post when he was drunk";³⁵ Robin, to be sure, also says that he is braver than poor Pistol;³⁶ but that is no compliment; and Nym himself admits that he "dare not fight" Pistol.³⁷ Indeed, the worthy Corporal, on a close inspection, has little in common with Shakspeare's description of the proper soldier type:

Jealous in honor, sudden and quick in quarrel,
Seeking the bubble reputation . . .³⁸

Why, then, did Nym frequent the wars? Pistol replies for both himself and his confederate:

Let us to France; like horse-leeches, my boys,
To suck, to suck, the very blood to suck!³⁹

Army life in that age was on the lowest plane: officers stole the soldiers' pay; and thus even actual soldiers in the midst of a campaign were obliged to loot the countryside, whether friendly or not, for the bare necessities of life;⁴⁰ and, in peacetime, "yong Souldiers" were left to "beg in the streets,"⁴¹ the government was done with them, and the guilds closed most honest callings. Many ruffians, moreover, pretending to have "trailed a pike in Flanders," blus-

³¹*Merry Wives*, I, i, 113-114.

³²*Ibid.*, II, ii, 8 *et seq.*

³³*Henry V*, II, i, 4 *et seq.*

³⁴*Ibid.*, III, ii, 3.

³⁵*Ibid.*, III, ii, 38-40.

³⁶*Ibid.*, IV, iv, 69-70.

³⁷*Ibid.*, II, i, 6.

³⁸*As You Like It*, II, ii, 151-52. Cf. Digges, *Four Paradoxes*, London, 1604, 17.

³⁹*Henry V*, II, iii, 55-56.

⁴⁰See the present author, "Sir John Falstaff," *R. E. S.*, VIII, 414 *et seq.*

⁴¹*Cyuele and Vncyuele Life* (ed. princ., 1579) in *Inedited Tracts*, ed. Hazlitt, Roxb. Lib., London, 1868, 26.

tered their way to a doubtful living in the dives of contemporary London; and Nym was apparently one of these. Indeed, most editors in the last two centuries have followed Rowe in describing him, along with Bardolph and Pistol, as "sharpers attending on Falstaff;"⁴² and yet there is a difference between Nym and these other two: Nym was the most proficient thief, Bardolph was "too open," and on this account Falstaff had to sacrifice him to the honest trade of tapster,⁴³ and Pistol, according to Robin, was too cowardly.⁴⁴ Lieutenant Bardolph gives at least some appearance of courage in the war,⁴⁵ and so was probably an actual, though disreputable soldier; and Pistol, with his fine braggadocio phrases, may well have had some education, and perhaps had known the outskirts of the court;⁴⁶ but Nym is a born thief: his name, which means *take* or *steal*, declares as much; and his ability to instruct Robin in the master-craft of picking pockets,⁴⁷ a highly skilled profession, suggests an early start and long years of training in the underworld. He boasts, moreover, doubtless from experience, that he can lead any "nuthook," i.e., policeman, a merry chase;⁴⁸ truly, he and Bardolph are "sworn brothers in filching;"⁴⁹ and, in the end, their peccadilloes get them hanged.⁵⁰ One suspects that the bad technique that occasioned this sad *finale* was Bardolph's and not Nym's. Nym, therefore, was really a pickpocket who used the guise of soldier to cover his real craft.

Nym was no more a soldier than he was a wit; and his introduction in *Henry V*, Shakspeare's most chauvinistic play, forms the sharpest, ironic contrast to the tone of the main plot. But if Nym's righteous wrath over the loss of Mistress Quickly was not so easily assuaged, and if his military prowess evaporated so readily in war, how authentic are these symptoms as evidence of his choleric disposition? Nym, in short, is a sort of negative malingerer; and, for the convenience of the time, assumes a choler though he has it not. He is no more suffering from a superfluity of yellow

⁴²See *Merry Wives*, Dram. Person.

⁴³*Ibid.*, I, iii, 23 *et seq.*

⁴⁴*Henry V*, IV, iv, 69-70.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, III, ii, i.

⁴⁶See D. C. Boughner, "Pistol and the Roaring Boys," *Shak. Assoc. Bull.*, XI, 226.

⁴⁷*Henry V*, III, ii, 45-46.

⁴⁸*Merry Wives*, I, i, 150-51.

⁴⁹*Henry V*, III, ii, 43.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, IV, iv, 71.

bile than he is from too much blood or too much atrabilious humor. Is, then, his "humor" entirely pretense; and is he in fact enjoying the good health that came from a perfect balance of the four essential fluids? Or did Shakspeare repeat the word merely to satirize Ben Jonson and his "comedy of humors?"⁵¹ What is the fact beneath his military camouflage?

The cold, phlegmatic type of man was given to "slouth;"⁵² he was supposed to be "nothing quicke [lively]," and had a dull wit and base courage;⁵³ he was fat and soft and of a bad complexion.⁵⁴ Batman describes him as slow, dull, forgetful, soft of flesh and fearful;⁵⁵ and Dariot adds that such were young men, "luxurious [immoral], given to idleness and pleasures . . . and lusts,"⁵⁶ and elsewhere terms them "thoughtful, unstable vacabounds, fearefull, faynt-harted, prodigall . . . commanding, common people . . . walking from place to place . . . laborious fooles, delighting in iournies and varietie of life . . ." ⁵⁷ Nym certainly has a dull wit and base courage; his time is given to "idleness and pleasures" such as Dame Quickly's notorious house affords; he is a "vacabound," and when his means allow, doubtless a "prodigall;" he clearly sprang from the "common" people; and his rank of Corporal reflects his desire, if not ability, to command; his foray into France shows him "delighting in iournies and varietie of life": and his very "drawling" speech,⁵⁸ if it be not another mere affectation, suggests the slow, phlegmatic temperament; and possibly shakspeare meant dramatic irony in Nym's reiterated "humor"; for, while the Corporal boasted his choleric truculence, the actual sordid fact was the phlegmatic dullness of the soft and dastard sloth. Indeed, Robin judges shrewdly when he says that Nym and his two associate "swashers" are indeed "three such antics [buffoons]" that altogether they "do not amount to a man."⁵⁹ The word "antic," with its suggestion of an actor on a stage is par-

⁵¹G. Sarrazin, "Nym und Ben Jonson," *Sh. Jb.*, XL, 213-22. Cf. G. L. Kittredge, *Complete Works of Shakespeare*, Boston [copr. 1936] 64.

⁵²Lennie, *op. cit.*, leaf 23 v.

⁵³*Ibid.*, leaf 81 r.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, leaf 80 r, The choleric type was lean and muscular, 129 r.

⁵⁵Batman, *op. cit.*, leaf 32 r.

⁵⁶Dariot, *op. cit.*, sig. D 4 r

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, sig. E 1 r and v.

⁵⁸*Merry Wives*, I, ii, 127.

⁵⁹*Henry V.*, III, ii, 30.

ticularly happy in describing the "choleric" Nym, whose every word and deed—or lack of words and deeds—belies his vaunted "humor": it is a part that he has basely conned to make his silence glib, and his poltroonery seemingly turbulent.

Corporal Nym, within his narrow compass of less than eighty lines, is a rather complex figure in two contrasting planes: what he really was, and what he pretended, and perhaps wished to be. Indeed, he is a very Swifitean figure of a sham; and even his faults of vengefulness against Pistol and quarrelsome truculence are not authentic; and the disparity between his actual humor and that that he assumed must have been to the audience a humorous thing indeed. Such a figure, done in so little space, is a *tour de force* of dramatic mastery; and, when one remembers how few critics have penetrated the shams even of the full-length portraiture of Falstaff, one wonders that an Elizabethan audience could actually see through the *aes triplex* of Corporal Nym's disguise, and tell the actuality from the coat of brass. In fact, however, as in the case of Falstaff, the explanation is not far to seek: pickpockets and other sharpers, such as Nym, who paraded under the guise of "good soldiers and tall fellows," were common in Elizabethan London; and, as soon as such a one by the merest hint betrayed himself on the stage, the audience would agnize the type, would look for the accustomed shams, and laugh accordingly. Thus the realism of Shakspeare's characters was an essential adjunct to the clarity of his art; but we, who do not always recognize these types, are oftentimes confused; for it is an irony of historic scholarship that what is most commonplace in one age imposes in another the greatest difficulty to ascertain and prove: the commonplace is rarely written down. Thus if an Elizabethan could read the present essay on Corporal Nym and his oddly assorted professions and his oddly assorted "humors," that Elizabethan would doubtless laugh, not only at the admirable Corporal, but also at the notion that anyone needed to elucidate such an obvious human platitude as he. This is an added, un-Shaksperian humor of Corporal Nym; and, for such an undertaking as the present, an Elizabethan, in the Corporal's *ipsa verba*, would probably suggest the short, acidulous motto, "pauca, pauca; slice!"

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W. S. GILBERT AND SHAKSPERE

By E. P. VANDIVER, JR.

The purposes of this paper are, first, to show that England's greatest librettist regarded Shakspeare with proper respect and, secondly, to indicate his use of Shaksperian material in his plays and operas.

I.

ONE of the most recent biographies of Gilbert and Sullivan leaves one with the impression that Gilbert heartily disliked Shakspeare,¹ that he considered him obscure in utterance,² and that he never lost an opportunity to say something derogatory about Shakspeare.³ In opposition, however, to this view of Gilbert's lack of veneration for Shakspeare, we have Gilbert's own words in a paper entitled "Unappreciated Shakespeare," published in 1890 (when Gilbert was at the height of his career), in *Foggerty's Fairy*, a collection of stories and sketches.⁴ His remarks are very interesting, and inasmuch as this essay is apparently not well known and is not readily obtainable, a brief analysis and summary of it seem desirable.⁵

Gilbert begins with the statement that he is about to express an "audacious" theory: namely, "that the people of England have no real appreciation of the merits of their most distinguished poet." Then he anticipates the arguments that will be raised against his contention: that Shakspeare is held in high veneration by Englishmen as a poet, thinker and dramatist, that his plays are well attended and enthusiastically greeted, that any public speaker has only to quote a few lines from Shakspeare to receive great applause. In reply to these imagined statements Gilbert writes: "My argument is, not that Shakespeare does not deserve all that is said and done in his honour, but that he deserves so much more."

¹Hesketh Pearson, *Gilbert and Sullivan* (Harpers, New York and London, 1935), p. 273.

²*Ibid.*

³*Ibid.*, p. 274.

⁴According to Sidney Dark and Rowland Grey (*W. S. Gilbert: His Life and Letters* (Methuen, London, 1924), pp. 36-39), this essay had previously appeared in 1869.

⁵"Unappreciated Shakespeare," in *Foggerty's Fairy and Other Tales* (George Routledge and Sons, London, 1890), pp. 331-336.

"He deserves to be read, but who reads him?" Although admitting that a few people have studied Shakspeare thoroughly, Gilbert contends that most people have only a superficial knowledge of his works, asking how many Englishmen are there who can truthfully say that they have read such plays as *All's Well that Ends Well*, *Richard II*, *Coriolanus*, *Cymbeline*, and *Troilus and Cressida*.

Since most people consider it a disgrace not to know Shakspeare's plays, continues Gilbert, "works with which it is considered—and most rightly—that all Englishmen should be familiar," they rush to the theaters to see them rather than read them. Unfortunately, however, the theatergoers usually do not see the plays performed as Shakspeare intended them to be, but cut and mutilated versions: for example, about half of *Hamlet*, three acts of *Henry VIII*, three acts of *The Taming of the Shrew*, and four acts of *The Merchant of Venice*. "Who resents these atrocious liberties? I do and the reader does, but who else?"

In conclusion, Gilbert states that he will point the moral of his essay with a quotation from John Heminge and Henrie Condell, prefixed to the First Folio edition of Shakspeare, of which the last sentence quoted is: "Read him, therefore, and againe, and againe, and if then you do not like him, surely you are in some manifest danger, not to understand him."

To sum up, Gilbert not only admits Shakspeare's greatness but also chides Englishmen for not reading and studying him more than they do and for not demanding that his plays be presented without alterations.

II.

There are many things in Gilbert's writings which remind one of Shakspeare.⁶ In his early work and in his later work one finds ideas and phrases which would not have assumed the form they did had it not been for Shakspeare. For instance, Gilbert seems to have taken the same delight in word play that the youthful, exuberant Shakspeare did.

⁶For example, Mr. Isaac Goldman has previously pointed out that Gonzalo's speech on the ideal commonwealth (in *The Tempest*) may have influenced Gilbert in the Utopian ideas expressed in *The Gondoliers*. ("W. S. Gilbert's Topsy-Turvydom," in *The Bookman* (April, 1928, LXVII, 149).

In his first attempt at drama, *Dulcamara* (1866), is an echo from Macbeth's famous soliloquy. In the *dramatis personae* is

Tomaso (a Notary, keeping company with Gianetta; "Tomaso and Tomaso, and Tomaso, creeps with his pretty *paysanne*."—Shakspere).

Whether or not this seems funny depends on the individual's sense of humor; but, at any rate, it seems not unlike some of Shakspere's early punning.

It is quite easy to imagine that a man with the comic sense of Gilbert would react against extravagant and uncritical praise of Shakspere, and that he would aim his shaft at some of the pedantic quibbles of Shaksperian scholarship and at actors whose interpretation of Shakspere he did not care for. An examination of Gilbert's work, moreover, seems to bear out this assumption. Most of his Shaksperian references are concerned with *Hamlet*, and his satire is directed rather against what critics and actors have done to Shakspere's plays than against Shakspere himself. At times, however, Gilbert cannot resist the temptation to use a well-known line of a tragic speech in a comic situation. In *Princess Ida* (1884), for instance, are brief parodies of passages in *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*:

Hilarion. I think I see her now.

Hildebrand. Ha! let me look!

Hilarion. In my mind's eye, I mean . . .⁷

And Melissa tells the young men who are disguised as young ladies:

My mother guessed your sex! It was my fault—

I blushed and stammered so that she exclaimed,

"Can these be men?" Then, seeing this, "Why these—"

"Are men," she would have added, but "are men"

Stuck in her throat!⁸

In the *dramatis personae* of *Ruddigore* (1887), is "Old Adam Goodheart (Robin's Faithful Servant)"; this reference reminds one of Adam, Orlando's old faithful servant in *As You Like It*.

Gilbert's only dramatic work based entirely on a Shak-

⁷W. S. Gilbert, *Original Plays* (third series, Chatto and Windus, London, 1928), p. 136. All later references to Gilbert's plays and operas will be to the third series of this edition.

⁸P. 157.

shaksperian play, however, did not come from his pen until a short play, *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern*, appeared in 1891. Here again the rays of the Comic Spirit are turned rather upon Shaksperian actors and critics than the author himself, although the irrepressible Gilbert does reveal a humorous aspect of certain serious scenes, but in such a way that Shakspeare himself would probably have enjoyed them as well as the argument of the play:

King Claudius, when a young man, wrote a five-act tragedy which was damned, and all reference to it forbidden under penalty of death. The King has a son—Hamlet—whose tendency to soliloquize has so alarmed his mother, Queen Gertrude, that she has sent for Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, to devise some Court revels for his entertainment. Rosencrantz is a former lover of Ophelia (to whom Hamlet is betrothed), and they lay their heads together to devise a plan by which Hamlet may be put out of the way. Some Court theatricals are in preparation. Ophelia and Rosencrantz persuade Hamlet to play his father's tragedy before the King and Court. Hamlet, who is unaware of the proscription, does so, and is banished, and Rosencrantz happily united to Ophelia.

A thrust at the non-Danish appearance of the Hamlets on the stage—stature, hair, accent, pronunciation, nationality—is put into the mouth of Ophelia. Being asked by Guildenstern what Hamlet is like, she replies:

Alike for no two seasons at a time.
 Sometimes he's tall—sometimes he's very short—
 Now with black hair—now with a flaxen wig—
 Sometimes an English accent—then a French—
 Then English with a strong provincial "burr".
 Once an American, and once a Jew—
 But Danish never, take him how you will!¹⁰

Then the shaft is directed against the scholars who have consumed too much time debating whether Hamlet was sane or mad:

G. Oh, he is surely mad!
 O. Well, there again
 Opinion is divided. Some men hold
 That he's the sanest, far, of all sane men—
 Some that he's really sane, but shamming mad—
 Some that he's really mad, but shamming sane—
 Some that he will be mad, some that he *was*—
 Some that he couldn't be. But on the whole
 (As far as I can make out what they mean)

⁹P. 76.

¹⁰P. 79.

The favourite theory's somewhat like this:
 Hamlet is idiotically sane
 With lucid intervals of lunacy.¹¹

In the second tableau Hamlet is interrupted in his famous soliloquy by Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, who attempt to answer his rhetorical questions; and he is thwarted in his "play-upon-me" episode when one of the young men is quite willing to play for him. This and other passages in the second and third tableaux furnish good fun. A novel way of regarding Hamlet's famous advice to the players is found in the players' reply to him, politely expressed, that he had better mind his own business and let the actors mind theirs. Later, near the close of the play, when it is decided to banish Hamlet to England, Gilbert laughs at those English people whose worship of Hamlet approaches fanaticism. Ophelia says:

If but the half I've heard of them be true
 They will inshrine him in their great good hearts,
 And men will rise or sink in good esteem
 According as they worship him, or slight him!¹²

In commenting on his play, Claudius borrows his phraseology from Philostrate's speech concerning the "rude mechanicals'" play in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*:

The acts were five—though by five acts too long.

And he continues with two puns that certainly sound Elizabethan, if not Shaksperian:

I wrote an Act by way of epilogue—
 An act by which the penalty of death
 Was meted out to all who sneered at it.
 They play was not good—but the punishment
 Of those that laughed at it was capital.¹³

About six months after the performance of *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern* appeared Gilbert's libretto *The Mountebanks* (January, 1892). The satire in connection with *Hamlet*, although a minor part of the story, is the only other important instance, besides the play just discussed, of Gilbert's working with Shaksperian material. He strikes again at the actors who desire to interpret *Hamlet* accord-

¹¹p. 80.

¹²p. 89.

¹³p. 78.

ing to their pet whims. Pietro, proprietor of a troupe of mountebanks, converses with his clown, Bartolo:

- P. Nonsense! Hamlet and Ophelia never married. It would be trifling with the text.
 B. Anyhow, it's a new reading. What! am I to be the only Hamlet who is not permitted to discover new readings? Bah!¹⁴

This is followed by a song, the first stanza of which, in Gilbert's delightful pattering style, humorously tells the story of Ophelia, while the second stanza contrasts her unfavorably with the modern maiden, who instead of dying of unrequited love, sues for breach of promise and secures heart balm of a pecuniary kind. The stanzas are sung by Pietro and Nita, a dancing girl:

- P. Ophelia was a dainty little maid,
 Who loved a very melancholy Dane;
 Whose affection of the heart, so it is said,
 Preceded his affection of the brain.
 Heir-apparent to the Crown,
 He thought lightly of her passion.
 Having wandered up and down,
 In an incoherent fashion;
 When she found he wouldn't wed her,
 In a river, in a meadder,
 Took a header, and a deader
 Was Ophelia!
- N. Ophelia to her sex was a disgrace,
 Whom nobody could feel compassion for.
 Ophelia should have gone to Ely Place
 To consult an eminent solicitor.
 When such promises as these
 Breaks a suitor, rich and regal,
 Why, substantial damages
 Is the panacea legal—
 From a jury—sons of Adam,
 Though as stony as Cacadam,
 Maid or madam, she'd have had 'em,
 Would Ophelia!¹⁵

In the last stanza above, however, whom is Gilbert satirizing? The old-fashioned Ophelia, who dies of a broken heart, or the type of modern woman like Gilbert's Angelina (in *Trial by Jury*), who beseeches the jury, in her suit for breach of promise against Edwin, to give her justice:

¹⁴P. 400.

¹⁵. *Ibid.*

Oh, see what a blessing, what love and caressing
I've lost, and remember it, pray,
When you whom I'm addressing, are busy assessing
The damages Edwin must pay?

This brings to an end the attempt to point out some of the most obvious examples of Gilbert's use of Shaksperian material in his own works. Though this study has not been an exhaustive one, the following conclusions seem to be true: though Gilbert did use Shaksperian material as a "source of innocent merriment" and also for satire, he seems to be engaged primarily in letting the Comic Spirit turn its light on the antics of temperamental actors, the profitless theorizing of pedants, and other activities and customs of people in the nineteenth century that might well be criticized. His high regard for Shakspere, which was discussed at the beginning of this paper, he has explicitly stated.

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MACBETH AND PARADISE LOST

By GRANT MCCOLLEY

AMONG the varied problems of Miltonic criticism, few have proved more stubborn than the group connected with the revolt of Satan. Of particular interest is the origin of the Seraph Abdiel, one of Milton's five most important angels, and the fourth in the space allotted to him. More or less complete counterparts have been discovered for all other outstanding characters in the epic, but for Abdiel none.¹ He stands unique as the one important angel apparently wholly created by Milton. Again, although the Archangels Uriel, Michael, Raphael and Gabriel are active throughout much of *Paradise Lost*, Abdiel is first mentioned in Book V, 805, and he disappears after VI, 369. His rôle is confined to events which follow immediately the withdrawal of Satan to his quarters in the North, and in this rôle Milton's unique Seraph underwent experiences roughly analogous to those of Macduff in portions of the drama. The Satan of Book V, 600 ff. may also be compared to Macbeth. Because of the poet's acquaintance with Shakspeare's plays in general and with this tragedy in particular, it is of interest to review a number of *Macbeth-Paradise Lost* correspondences which have been largely neglected.² These correspondences, fundamentally in structure and character, are given for convenience of comparison in parallel columns.

Paradise Lost, V, 583 ff.
The empyreal host . . . by imperial summons called
. . . before the Almighty's throne . . . appeared
Under their hierarchs . . . The Father infinite,
By whom in bliss imbosomed sat the Son . . .
Hear all ye Angels, Progeny of Light,

Macbeth, I, iv and 27 ff.
Forres. The Palace. Enter Duncan, Malcolm, Donalbain, Lennox, and attendants. Enter Macbeth, Banquo, Ross and Angus. Duncan. "Noble Banquo . . .
let me infold thee and hold thee to my heart . . .
Sons, kinsmen, thanes, / And you whose places are the nearest, know
We will establish our estate upon

¹Editors of *Paradise Lost* are uniformly silent regarding the origins of Abdiel; our most distinguished authority in the angelology of the epic, Professor Harris Fletcher, has found no counterpart for the Seraph in extra-Biblical literature (*Milton's Rabbinical Readings*, Urbana, 130). He is, of course, not an angel of canonical Scripture.

²Among recent studies of the Milton-Shakspeare relationship are those of Professors Hales, "Milton's Macbeth," *Nineteenth Century*, XXX, 919-32; Hanford, "The Dramatic Element in Milton," *SP*, XIV, 178-95; Thaler, "The Shaksperian Element in Milton," *PMLA*, XL, 645-91; and G. C. Taylor, "Shakespeare and Milton Again," *SP*, 189-99.

Thrones . . . Powers, / Hear my decree . . .
 This day I have begot whom I declare
 My only Son . . . / Your head I him
 appoint . . .
 appoint . . .

Under his . . . vicegerent reign abide
 United as one individual soul,
 For ever happy. Him who disobeys,
 Me disobeys, breaks union . . .
 All seemed well pleased; all seemed
 but were not all . . .
 He, of the first / If not the first
 Archangel, great in power,
 In favour, and preëminence . . .
 fraught / With envy against the Son of
 God . . .
 Honoured by his great Father . . .
 Through pride . . . thought himself im-
 paired.
 Deep malice thence conceiving . . .

New laws thou seest imposed;
 New laws . . . new minds may raise . . .
 new counsels to debate . . .
 More in this place
 To utter is not safe.

Tell them that . . . ere yet dim Night
 withdraws . . .
 I am to haste . . . / Homeward with flying
 march . . .
 there to prepare / Fit entertainment to
 receive
 our King . . . / Who speedily through
 all the
 Hierarchies / Intends to pass . . .
 He together calls . . . the Regent
 Powers . . .
 Tells the suggested cause, and casts be-
 tween
 Ambiguous words and jealousies to sound
 Or taint integrity . . .
 Now ere Night, / Now ere dim Night
 had
 disincumbered Heaven . . . / The great
 hierarchal standard was to move . . .

V, 866 ff.

Then thou shalt behold / Whether . . .
 we intend . . .
 Beseeching or besieging. This report,
 These tidings, carry to the Anointed King;
 And Fly, ere evil intercept thy flight . . .
 O Spirit accursed . . .

And with retorted scorn his back he
 turned / On these proud towers, to
 swift destruction doomed.

Our eldest, Malcolm, whom we name
 hereafter

The Prince of Cumberland . . .
 Signs of nobleness . . . shall shine
 On all deservers. From hence to In-
 verness,

And bind us further to you.
Macbeth. [*Aside*] Stars, hide your fires;
 Let . . . / The eye wink at the hand . . .
Duncan. [*To Macbeth*] Welcome . . .
 / To make thee

full of growing . . . a peerless kins-
 man! . . .

Macbeth. The Prince of Cumberland!
 That is a step / On which I must
 fall down, or else o'erleap, / For
 in my way it lies . . . Let not light
 see my black and deep desires . . .

IV, iii, 4 ff.

Macduff. [*To Malcolm*] Each new morn
 New widows howl, new orphans cry,
 new sorrows / Strike heaven on the
 face . . .

Malcolm. Let not my jealousies be your
 dishonours, / But mine own safeties.

I, iv, 45.

Macb. I'll be myself the harbinger . . .

I, v, 33-4, 67-9

Lady M. Thy master . . . / Would have
 inform'd

for preparation . . . He that's coming /
 Must be provided for . . .

Macb. This I made good to you . . . /
 How

you were borne in hand, how cross'd . . .
 you can let this go?

III, ii, 40 ff.

Ere the bat hath flown . . . ere . . . /
 Hath rung night's yawning peal, there
 shall be done / A deed of dreadful
 note.

III, vi, 29 ff.

Lord. Macduff is gone to pray the
 holy King . . .
 and this report / Hath so exasperate
 the King that he / Prepares for . . .
 war.

Lennox. Some holy angel / Fly to . . .
 England

and unfold / His message ere he come . . .
 Under a hand accurs'd! . . .

Lord. And with an absolute 'Sir, not I,'
 The cloudy messenger turns me his back,
 and hums . . . 'You'll rue the time' . . .

VI, 17 ff.

Flaming arms . . . met his view . . . he
 . . . found / Already known what he
 for news had thought / To have
 reported . . .
 The easier conquest now / Remains thee
 [Abdiel] . . . on thy foes more glor-
 ious to return . . .

VI, 152 ff.

Receive . . . the first essay . . . of
 this [Abdiel's] right hand . . .
 This greeting on thy impious crest re-
 ceive . . . a noble stroke . . . with
 tempest fell
 On the proud crest of Satan . . .

VI, 254 ff.

He opposed . . . his ample shield . . .
 to Hell . . . / Ere this avenging sword . . .
 Nor think thou with wind . . . to awe . . .

IV, iii, 133 ff.

Malcolm . . . before thy here—approach
 Old Siward, with ten thousand war-
 like men, Already was setting forth.
 Ross. Now is the time of help; your
 [Macduff's] eye in Scotland / Would
 create soldiers . . .

V, vii, 18 ff.

Macd. Either thou, Macbeth, / Or else
 my sword . . . I sheathe again un-
 deeded.

V, viii, 11 ff.

Macb. Let fall thy blade on vulnerable
 crests . . . / Before my body
 I throw my warlike shield.

V, viii, 3 ff.

Macd. Turn, hell-hound . . . I have no
 words:
 My voice is my sword . . .

The preceding correspondences have suggested a number of similarities between Satan and the character Macbeth. Both were present at an assemblage where the King personally announced investiture of his son. Satan implicitly and Macbeth explicitly concealed displeasure provoked by the announcement. Exclusive of the King, they had been first in power, and were first in his favor. The investiture of the son was regarded as adversely affecting their interests, and led one to conceive "deep malice;" the other to speak of "black and deep desires." They hastened home as harbingers to prepare for a royal progress, although no progress takes place in *Paradise Lost*. The blow of Abdiel "fell on the proud crest of Satan," and Macbeth advised Macduff to "Let fall thy blade on vulnerable crests."³ Somewhat later the Satan-Michael and Macbeth-Macduff encounters were prefaced by contrasts between words and deeds. In a further passage Satan's chief accomplice "casts . . . ambiguous words and jealousies, to sound or taint integrity." This is precisely what Macbeth does at his second meeting with the murderers of Banquo.⁴

³Milton's familiarity with this scene is definitely indicated by his lines, XI, 496-7, "Though not of woman born: compassion quelled / His best of man."

⁴In V, 673-5, Satan addressed his fellow conspirator as "companion dear," and in language befitting family intimacy, asked, "What sleep can close thy eyelids?" Macbeth's fellow in crime is addressed as his "dearest love." Again, Satan complained because the sleep of his companion *dissented*, and held apart the two who "waking . . . were one." In the drama it is personified sleep which prevented Macbeth from completing all details of his crime, and led him to reject his lady's emphatic request that he do so. That Milton knew Shakespeare's "Glamis hath murdered sleep" . . . is further suggested by the well-known passage in IV, 877 ff. The precise meaning of the poet's "not so waked Satan" is far from clear, but by implication Satan had slept, and upon awakening had experienced a change in attitude. Quite curiously, the personified hope of Macbeth had "slept . . . and wakes . . . now" with a changed

The Seraph Abdiel was at the outset one of Satan's host, but refused to rebel against Deity, and unleashed a fiery verbal attack upon his immediate leader. He was commanded by Satan to carry "this report" to the "Anointed King," and to "fly, ere evil" intercepted his flight. In answer, Abdiel castigated Satan as a spirit "accursed, . . . and with retorted scorn his back he turned," the one instance in *Paradise Lost* where a character is described as turning his back. The faithful Seraph then hastened to the Throne to inform God of Satan's rebellion, and to warn him to prepare for conflict, but found his message anticipated and preparation for war complete. He was specifically requested by God to return and attack his "foes." His first encounter was with Satan, and his sword "fell on the proud crest" of his former superior. In Shakspeare's drama Macduff became the principal opponent of Macbeth, defied the commands brought by his representative, and with the retort, "Sir, not I . . . turns me his back." He went to "pray the holy King" that he prepare an army and attack Macbeth. In this passage Lennox expressed the hope that some angelic messenger would fly to England, and anticipate Macduff's mission ere he arrived. Macduff was then censured as "a hand accursed." When Macduff reached England he found his mission anticipated, and preparation for attacking Macbeth complete. He immediately was asked to return and do battle against his enemy. The first encounter of Macduff, and one described as such, was with Macbeth, who admonished him to "Let fall thy blade on vulnerable crests."⁵

Both Deity and King Duncan emphasized the desirability of unity immediately following announcement of the anointment of their sons. Milton's statement that the "great hierarchal standard was to move"—an action important in the rebellion, is preceded by repetition of *ere* in a description of the time of night. Shakspeare's "deed of dreadful note" is preceded by a similar repetition of *ere* in a description of the hour of the evening. In only one sentence of *Paradise Lost* does Milton repeat the word *new* more than twice, and here he employs it four times. Satan directed this remark against Deity and the Son, and followed it with the declaration that "more in this place to utter is not safe."

⁵Milton employs the word "crest" only in descriptions of the head or helm of Satan, twice where he is disguised as the serpent, and three times where he is the warrior.

In describing the tyrannous actions of his king, Macduff four times repeated the word "new" in a single sentence. Some twenty lines later, the cautious Malcolm declared that "mine own safeties" occasioned his reticence.⁶ There can be no question as to Milton's acquaintance with and interest in this scene, for as the final jottings of proposed works in the Trinity College manuscript inform us, he once planned to write a tragedy of "Macbeth. Beginning at the arrivall of Malcom at Mackduffe."

⁶ Cf. *Paradise Lost*, III, 639 ff.
(Satan) Suitable grace diffused; so well
he feigned. / Under a coronet his
. . . hair . . . neither man nor angel
can discern / Hypocrisy . . . Uriel
. . . to the . . . imposer foul . . .

Macbeth, IV, iii, 2-4
Which you are my thoughts cannot trans-
pose; Angels are bright still, though
the brightest fell; Though all things
foul would wear the brows of grace,
/ Yet grace must still look so.

Mutatis mutandis, it is apparent that the Abdiel of *Paradise Lost* shares with the Macduff of Shakspeare's drama a number of comparable experiences. Similarly, Satan and Macbeth have much in common. These and the several structural correspondences under discussion deserve, it would seem, some recognition in commentaries upon the epic. If Milton were consciously or unconsciously indebted to *Macbeth*, we possess a partial explanation of the origin of the unique Abdiel and light on a variety of incidental details. It is understood that there are other explanations of the similarities reviewed, but the possibility of indebtedness in *Paradise Lost* to the tragedy which most interested Milton seems not unworthy of careful thought.

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THE NEW CAMBRIDGE SHAKSPERE AND THE TWO GENTLEMEN OF VERONA

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HOW EVER one looks at it, whether from the textual, critical, grammatical, rhetorical, theatrical or linguistic viewpoint, the "new" Cambridge edition of Shakspeare's works, published by the Cambridge University Press and edited by Professor J. D. Wilson (with the collaboration of Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch—"Q"—in the early volumes), must be regarded not only as an unscholarly but also as a dangerous piece of work—dangerous because it violates the fundamental principles of scientific criticism, indulges too freely and unrestrainedly in fantastic guesses and conjectures, ignores available evidence even on important matters, oversteps the bounds of legitimate editorial commentary, and obviously aims to startle rather than to investigate or instruct. In confirmation of this condemnation we shall make a critical study of these editors' text and commentary in one of the most easily edited plays in the Shakspeare canon: *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*.

The Two Gentlemen is not one of the world's great plays. In fact, it might safely be relegated to an obscure place among the worst. Its story is preposterous, its dramatic technique puerile, its characters inconsistent and puppet-like, its dialogue dull, uninteresting, and unnatural, its jesting insipid, long drawn out and superfluous, its ethics pernicious, its philosophy juvenile, and its most humorous touches vulgar. The only reasons for studying it are its place in the development of English romantic comedy and in Shakspeare's artistic career.

Even the introduction, easygoing, prolix, and utterly inadequate for the general reader for whom this edition is (said to be) intended, is not free from downright errors and perverse opinions. Enough, however, of generalities; let us proceed to particulars.

On page viii Jonson's play is called '*Batholomew's Fair*' instead of '*Bartholomew Fair*'; on page ix the baptismal name of the author of *Romeus and Juliet* is given as "George" instead of "Arthur." On page vii the writer of the preface, "Q," informs his readers—without even as

much as "I guess" that "the theatrical people had played some strange tricks" upon the play, although there is not a particle of evidence extant to justify this censure of "the theatrical people."

On page x we are told that *The Two Gentlemen* is a "graceful story charmingly told," although it is only a clumsy and unnecessarily padded tale of a preposterously incredible kind told so poorly that "Q" himself blames the poet's associates for having played "strange tricks" upon it—tricks which make it unactable as it stands,—having cut out necessary scenes, added needless characters, (*e.g.*, Speed), dropped out some of the original characters (*e.g.*, Julia's father), bungled the geography of the play (confusing Milan, Verona, and Mantua), confused the Duke's social station, ruined the time sequence, and so transmogrified the last scene that Dr. Wilson ("Q's" associate) characterizes it as being "infamous."

To "Q" Valentine is (page xii) a "gentleman to the core"—an opinion with which no reader who knows the renaissance ideal of what constitutes a gentleman can agree. Valentine persistently insults his rival Thurio in the presence of the lady they are wooing (II, iv, 13-45); he lies to the Emperor-Duke about the merits of Thurio and his desirability as a husband for Silvia (III, i, 63-66); he betrays the confidence of his host by plotting to steal away his daughter, writes his lady-love a smutty sonnet on the eve of their nocturnal escapade, becomes the leader of a band of highwaymen, makes no attempt to rejoin his family, and finally offers up his sweetheart to the man who had just attempted to rape her. A gentleman to the core!

On page xvi the writer of "the final scene" of the play—at least, of parts of it—is called a "faker" who "not only was not Shakespeare, but did not possess even a rudimentary ear for blank verse." "The opening lines (V, iii, 1ff) bewray [!] him," says "Q," but he has evidently overlooked the fact that the opening speech he quotes ("come, come, be patient; we must bring you to our captain") is prose, and that in accordance with Elizabethan usage, such minor characters as Outlaws speak prose and verse indiscriminately. As for the rest of the lines quoted—which, by the way, are not in the "final scene": they are no worse metrically than hundreds of such lines in Shakspeare, and are better than many we could quote from this and other plays.

On page ix "Q" says, without any reservations, that the "Proteus and Julia story comes straight [!] out of an episodic tale in a Spanish romance, *Diana Enamorada* . . . translated by Bartholomew Yonge." But this translation was first published in 1598, and writers say that *The Two Gentlemen* was written prior to 1594 or 1595, perhaps even as early as 1590. An inquisitive student might wish to know whether "Q" was of the opinion that Shakspeare had had access to Young's manuscript translation prior to its publication, or whether Shakspeare "borrowed" characters and situations, possibly also ideas, from a now lost play based on Montemayor's rambling amorous tales. But as to these problems "Q" sayeth nought, and "W" is not a whit more communicative.

A suggestive instance of "Q's" failure to understand Shakspeare occurs on page xii. He there comments on what he calls Silvia's "hesitancy" in handing back Valentine's letter (II, i, 117-122) and compares the incident to Beatrice's "feminine hesitancy" in declaring her love to Benedick. But the two scenes are in no way comparable. Silvia is having her little joke with the stupid Valentine and has no reason in the world for hesitating. The frequency with which she urges him to take his letter is sufficient indication of a total absence of hesitancy. Beatrice's situation, involving a declaration of love for a man whom she had always pretended to hold in contempt, is wholly different.

Speaking of Sir Eglamour, whom he describes (page xvii) as "an honest, simple gentleman" who should "not be confused with the knight of that name who figures among Julia's suitors in Act I, Scene 2, "Q" says, with reference to his behavior in the forest scene (V, iii), "Without warning or excuse he is reported to have taken to his heels like the veriest poltroon!" But this badly worded sentence does Sir Eglamour a great injustice; Shakspeare does not say that he ran away "without warning or excuse" or that he fled "like the veriest poltroon." We may rest assured that Shakspeare made Eglamour "nimble-footed" for a purpose; he ran to summon assistance. Living in an age of chivalry which approved of Robin Hood, he knew that Sylvia would be unharmed by her captors, men endowed with "worthy qualities," "reformed, civil, full of good." Have they not pledged themselves (in IV, i) to their chivalrous captain

to "do no outrages on silly women or poor passengers"? Such "vile base practices" these honorable thieves "detest." Eglamour, being "valiant" as well as "wise," acted like a gentleman in taking to his heels when staying would have done no good.

One of the most amazing things about "Q's" introduction is his failure to appreciate Shakspeare's dramatic skill in removing Eglamour from the play at this point. The story requires Proteus to attack Silvia; how could he do this if her escort were by? Shakspeare, we know, does almost anything to wind up a play. No fake adaptor would have been clever enough for this. Eglamour ran away on dramatic necessity, if for no other reason.

So determined are "Q" and W to put the onus of Valentine's magnanimous transfer of his interest in Silvia to the repentant Proteus upon one or more hypothetical "adaptors," that they conjure up difficulties where there are none. Proteus, we may recall, says

"were man

But Constant, he were perfect; that one error
Fils him with faults: makes him run through all th' sins;
Inconstancy falls-off, ere it begins
What is in *Silvia's* face, but I may spie
More fresh in *Julia's*, with a constant eye?"

(V, iv, 111-116).

"Can anyone," Queries "Q" (page xviii), "believe Shakespeare guilty of this pair of [rhyming] tags: the first lame in scansion and unmeaning, the second balanced for our choice between nonsense and rascality?" W backs up "Q" (pages 103-04) by telling us that "all th' sins" is "not Shakespearian. Shakespeare never contracts the definite article before a consonant, except when it is preceded by a preposition, *e.g.*, 'by th', 'i'th', 'o'th', etc."

Most editors, including Sampson, Rolfe, Hudson, Porter and Clarke, Nichols, pass the passage over without comment, because (presumably) they find nothing in it that is noteworthy, obscure or nonsensical. The meaning obviously is: "The inconstant person (the philanderer) falls off (becomes disloyal) even ere he begins to love. After all," continues Proteus, "Silvia's face has no feature which is not bettered in Julia's, if I regard her (Julia) with the eye of a constant lover." As for rascality—we see none. On the contrary, we have here one of those instances of a general-

ization from a character's own experience which stamps the passage as peculiarly Shaksperian.

The scansion of line 113 is not so bad as W and "Q" would make it. In fact, it is a perfectly good iambic pentameter. W's assertion about what Shakspeare never does need not worry us. Shakspeare is rich in *hapax legomena*. A poet who at the age of forty (or thereabout) wrote "no teeth for th' present and "or th' Hircan tiger" (both in *Macbeth*) could have written "all th' sins" when he was twenty-six. Before we impugn Shakspeare's authorship of these lines, we must also consider that the abbreviated definite article may be an unwarranted or accidental insertion by the compositor or by a copyist. "All sins" is just as good as "all the sins."

We now leave "Q's" introduction, remarking only that he has presented no cogent reason for thinking that this early play of Shakspeare's had been revised by a theatrical botcher, and we turn our attention to W's atrocious text and worse commentary.

II

Notwithstanding his professed "consciousness of grave responsibility" in auspicating a new text of Shakspeare's plays with all the aids of modern "scientific bibliography," W here presents us with a poorer text than any of his predecessors has given us. On the very first page we are confronted with a reading which deserves to be characterized as barbaric. Proteus is made to say (I, i, 24) that Leander was "over-shoes" in love, and Valentine says (line 25) that Proteus is "over-boots" in love. The justification for this is the fact that the Folio has the hyphens. But W does not intend to give us a facsimile of the Folio text, and he does not retain the hyphens generally or on any apparent principle. In this very scene the Folio prints "beades-man" (line 18), "lost-mutton" (lines 94 and 96), "laced-mutton" (line 95), "over-charg'd" (line 99), "over-take" (line 122), but W's text reads "beadsman," "lost mutton," "laced mutton," "overcharged" and "overtake." The contrast between Leander and Proteus consists in the former's being only "over *shoes*" in love and the latter, more deeply engaged, being "over *boots*" in love.

This contrast is easily brought home to a reader by printing the phrases in question without hyphens, whereas print-

ing them with hyphens raises in the ordinary reader's mind images of overshoes and overboots—goloshes, in other words—and utterly obscures the poet's meaning by its absurdity. It is a fact that Elizabethans used the phrases "over shoes" and "over boots" metaphorically, most frequently as "over the shoes" and "over the boots," but this usage did not require the hyphen between the preposition and the noun. That the hyphens in the Folio are not of Shakspeare's doing but the work of a presumptuous, ignorant and meddling scribe or compositor may be inferred from his absurd hyphenations elsewhere in this play, as in I, ii, 58 ("way-ward"), I, ii, 111 ("bruising-stones"), I, ii, 120 ("whirl-wind"), I, iii, 31 ("noble-men"), I, iii, 57 ("well-belov'd"), II, iv, 87 ("Be-like"), II, v, 28 (in Launce's "stand-under" and "under-stand" witticism), II, i, 105 ("hardly-off"), II, i, 19 ("mal-content"), II, i, 140 ("spokes-man"), II, iv, 78 ("un-welcome"), II, v, 6 ("Come-on, you mad-cap"), III, i, 40 ("corded-ladder"), III, i, 144 ("rest-them"), III, i, 223 ("un-revers'd"), III, i, 267 ("milk-maid"), III, ii, 94 ("on-set"), IV, iii, 20 ("true-love"), IV, iv, 191 ("fore-head"), V, ii, 52 ("reckless"), V, iii, 7 ("out-run"), V, iv, 114 ("falls-off"), instances among many others, in which W does not retain the hyphens. In the case of "over-shoes" and "over-boots" pseudo-scientific bibliography has "bewrayed" itself.

In I, i, 26, the Folio has "swom" (equivalent to the modern "swum") but W reads "swam."

In I, i, 75, the Folio text has the perfectly correct Elizabethan "And if" which W changes to the modern "An if."

In I, i, 97, Proteus speaks, correctly, of "such store of muttons," but W alters it, unnecessarily and without explanation, to "such a store of muttons."

In I, ii, 50, W reads "Will you be gone?" although F₁ gives the pronoun as "ye," and veen though W seems to regard (without reason) the frequent occurrence of "ye" in this play an indication of the tamperings of an adaptor.

In I, ii, 68, W's text reads "Is it near dinner-time?" although the Folio reads "Is't near dinner time" [without a hyphen] and "near" can be read as a dissyllable.

In I, ii, 96, Julia says, in F₁, "The mean is drown'd with you unruly bass" (which may be read "The mean is drown'd with [= by] you, unruly bass" (punning on

"base"), but W reads "The mean is drowned [*sic*] with your unruly bass."

In I, iii, 42, Panthino speaks of gentlemen who are journeying to salute the emperor and to "command" their services to his will; F correctly and sensibly reads "commend."

In I, iii, 88, Panthino says, in the generally accepted text, including W's, "Sir Proteus, your father calls for you—" and in a note he informs his readers that the Folio reads "Fathers," but he does not tell them that the Folio reads "call's" for "calls." Had he done so, we might have "guessed" that Shakspeare intended Panthino to say "Sir Proteus, your father's call's for you," which makes perfectly good sense and does less violence to the original text than the generally received reading, as scientific bibliography would have realized. A stage-direction (*Father calls*) can be easily supplied by an editor as liberal with stage-directions as W is.

In I, iii, 90-91, Proteus says,

"my heart accords thereto,
And yet a thousand times it answers 'no.'"

The Folio text has "answer's"; if this is correct, as it may well be, "it" means "its" (as elsewhere in Shakspeare). A modern editor has no right to falsify his author's text.

In II, i, 157, W reads "you have writ" where the Folio reads, correctly, "have you writ."

In II, iv, 52, W again substitutes "you" for "ye" of the Folio.

In II, iv, 70, W substitutes "Come" for the Folio's "Comes," although a singular verb often precedes a plural subject in Shakspeare.

In II, iv, 77 (and in many other passages) W substitutes the adverb "awhile" for what we must regard as Shakspeare's prepositional phrase "a while." Had W consulted the *Oxford Dictionary*, he would have learned that this is considered improper. See also III, i, 1, 59, V, iv, 27; etc.

In II, vi, 8, we have one of the most inexcusable readings to be found in any modern text. Proteus, addressing Love (which W gives as "love"), begs her to teach him to "excuse" his treachery, but according to W he wants to be taught how to "execute" it, though that gives us a line which is metrically impossible. We wonder how the recent "discoveries" justify such an unnecessary and

reprehensible emendation (?). W ought to apply his bibliographic legerdemain to his own work.

In II, vi, 24, Proteus tries to convince himself that "Love is still most precious in it selfe." Silently and inexcusably W substitutes "more" for "most."

In II, vii, 32, W's newly auspicated text reads "wide ocean" instead of "wild ocean," "wild" meaning, of course, "turbulent." W thus adopts one of Collier's wildest emendations, because, he says (page 93), "No epithet could be more inappropriate than *wild*"—an opinion with which no modern scholar who knows his Shakspeare will agree. It is not unlike Shakspeare's mind to move in the course of seven lines to an image which leaves out of consideration the image it left behind. A conscientious editor, having a due sense of his responsibility, does not presume to "improve" on his author by the standards of his own unimaginative mind. Had W consulted Mr. Deighton's excellent edition of this play he would have found a paraphrase of the passage which would have saved him from a bad piece of botchery. Hudson, Nichols, Bond, and other modern editors have not even thought it necessary to comment on the Folio text. That Shakspeare meant to say "wild" is borne out by line 819 of his *Venus and Adonis*: "the wild waves will have him seen no more."

In III, i, 254, W introduces a hyphen between two words with disastrous effect. The hypocritical Proteus urges the wretched Valentine to depart at once, offering to confer with him at large of all that may concern his "love-affairs." W seems not to know that "love-affairs" (philanderings) and "love affairs" (matters pertaining to his love) are quite different. The hyphen, we may add, is not in the Folio; it's another one of W's or an ignorant compositor's improvements.

In III, i, 344, W reads "that I cannot help," though the Folio reads "that cannot I help."

In III, i, 172-73, the Folio text reads

"banish'd from her,

Is self from self: A deadly banishment:"

W wholly unnecessarily alters this to

"banished [*sic*] from her,

Is self from self . . . Ah! deadly banishment:"

This, I submit, is not editing, but editorial meddlesomeness prompted by a desire to appear smart, not to emend what is unintelligible or obviously corrupt.

In IV, i, 10, a prose line, W alters "he is" to "he's" for no better reason than that Capell did so and was followed by some modern editors (even by so fine a scholar as Mr. Bond!). W forgets that he promised his readers "a complete recension of Shakespeare's text" in the light of recent "discoveries" (as he miscalls certain speculations).

In IV, i, 51, W modernizes the grammatical construction by substituting "Whom" for "Who," though he considers the Folio text to be "Shakespearian."

In IV, 2, 88, without a word of comment, W abandons the Folio's "What's" for Pope's "What is," for metrical reasons, undoubtedly; but, if so, why does he not read "You'd" for "You Would" in line 85? In line 88 a gesture of impatience by Silvia may equate the lost syllable before "What's."

In IV, ii, 128, in deference to the Folio's "ore-night" W reads "o'ernight," even though the hyphens in this play occur so lawlessly that they can't possibly have had Shakspeare's authority, and even though "o'ernight" may be interpreted by a modern reader as meaning either "before the night" (*N. E. D.*), "the previous night" or the "night before bed-time" (Schmidt) and even though "o'er night" expresses exactly the meaning intended. Nothing is gained and much is lost by reading "o'ernight."

In IV, iii, 31, W "corrects" Shakspeare's grammar by printing "reward" instead of "rewards," even though other editors have no objections to following F.

In IV, iv, 40, W follows Malone in converting F's "ile" into "I will," notwithstanding the recent "discoveries" and the conservative practice of other editors.

In IV, iv, 49, W, again, for no reason, transposes "did she" into "she did."

IV, iv, 134.—"Though his false finger have prophan'd the Ring," says F, correctly, but W substitutes "hath" for "have."

In IV, iv, 160, W, without comment or apology, forsakes F's "iudgements" for Capell's "judgement."

In V, ii, 23, W has Proteus tell Thurio that, genealogically speaking, he is "well derived," thus following F, though "well-derived" would be better (and so it appears in W's glossary). On the other hand, in line 46 of this scene he deserts F's "Mountaine foote" for "mountain-foot." Caprice alone seems to determine W's text.

In V, ii, 47, W has two unjustifiable departures from the original text. He reads "towards" and "whither" for F's "toward" and "whether."

In V, iii, 7, F reads "Moyses" (not, as W gives it, "Moy-fes"), but W changes this to "Moses," although "Moyses" was a common sixteenth-century spelling. In his charges against Marlowe (May 20, 1593), Richard Baines has "Moyses" three times, "Moses" not at all. Such an unnecessary departure from F, our sole authority, is a flagrant violation of editorial ethics and the requirements of scholarship.

In V, iv, 17 ("To keep them from uncivil outrages"), W ruins the sense as well as the metre by reading "uncivil from outrages." Of course, an ignorant compositor is to blame. "By Chrish, la! tish ill done."

III

The punctuation of W's text can be best described as illogical, inconsistent, chaotic, and confusing. Very frequently the obvious meaning is distorted by faulty punctuation. In illustration of this wholesale condemnation of the book before us we shall quote a few passages from it.

"But, since thou lov'st; love still and thrive therein,
Even as I would when I to love begin." (I, i, 9-10).

In defence of this barbarism W cannot say that he is following F, inasmuch as F also has commas after "still" and after would."

In I, i, 19, W changes F's correct question mark to an exclamation.

In I, i, 34, W's text reads, "How ever . . . but a folly bought with wit," because F has a colon after "ever." In his note to the reader W says that he represents original colons by three dots "when they appear to possess special dramatic significance." We doubt that anyone, even W, can find "special dramatic significance" in this colon.

In I, i, 33, W reads: "If lost, why then a grievous labor won;" even though commas before and after "then" would make it clear that Valentine uses the word as a conjunction (meaning "in that case"), not as an adverb of time. This improper pointing with reference to the word "then" occurs throughout W's book. In these cases W cannot even plead that he is following F, for in many instances he sticks

in a comma where F has none, *e.g.*, "Then, tell me, whither were I best to send him?" (I, iii, 24).

In I, i, 53, we are treated to "Once more adieu," although a comma after "more" is unquestionably needed.

Lines I, i, 57-59, are printed as follows:

To Milan let me hear from thee by letters.
Of thy success in love; and what news else
Betideth here in absence of thy friend."

F has no punctuation mark after "letters" and none is needed. The semicolon after "love" is absurd. With W's punctuation the second and third lines lack a verb.

I, i, 69, reads, absurdly, "Made wit with musing, weak; heart sick with thought."

I, i, 86. "Therefore I am no sheep." A comma after "therefore" is absolutely necessary. This applies also to I, i, 90: "Therefore thou art a sheep."

W promises to retain all original colons in his text but he frequently (and silently) breaks his promise. Thus, in I, i, 92, he reads "But dost thou hear?", although F has a colon instead of a question mark.

In I, i, 100, 129, we have "Nay sir," and "Truly sir," without the necessary comma before "Sir." Common sense dictates that such vocatives as "sir," "madam," etc., should be preceded and followed by commas. They are conspicuously and annoyingly absent in many passages in this book. In line III of this very scene we have "you mistook, sir." The inconsistency is exasperating.

In I, i, 138, W reads "What, said she—nothing?" although F reads "What said she, nothing?" W has no right to change the pronoun "What" into an exclamation. W's dash has no meaning.

I, ii, 2.—"Wouldst thou then counsel me to fall in love?" Commas are required before and after "then."

I, ii, 13.—"Well of his wealth; but of himself, so, so." Surely we should read "so so" or "so-so." The comma ruins the poet's meaning.

I, ii, 28.—"Yet he, of all the rest, I think best loves ye." Any logical editor would depart from the Folio and insert a comma after "think."

I, ii, 30.—"Fire, that's closest kept, burns most of all." The commas convey a wrong meaning.

I, ii, 71.—"Why didst thou stoop then?" A comma before "then" is indispensable.

I, ii, 72.—“To take a paper up, that I let fall.” The comma does not belong here.

I, ii, 108.—“I'll kiss each several paper, for amends.” W's punctuation would be appropriate if he intended to imply that the *dramatis personae* were suffering from asthma and had to stop to breathe. Julia especially seems to be thus afflicted. That is, perhaps, why she says “But twice, or thrice, was ‘Proteus’ written down.” In the Folio the poor girl is much sicker than in W's text, if its punctuation may be trusted. There she says: “His little speaking, shows his love but small” (line 29), “They do not love, that do not show their love” (line 31, followed by W), “Say, say: who gave it thee?” (line 37, followed by W), “And pray her to a fault, for which I chid her” (line 53), “Since maids, in modesty, say no, to that Which they would have” etc. (lines 56-57, followed by W), “How churlishly, I chid Lucetta hence, When willingly, I would have her here?” (lines 61-62, silently abandoned by W, here as in hundreds of other passages, so as not to shake the readers' confidence in F's “good punctuation” based upon players' parts!). “Some love of yours, hath writ to you in rhyme” (line 78), “Till I have found each letter, in the letter” (line 119), “He couples it, to his complaining names” (line 127), etc., etc. Unfortunately this asthmatic punctuation cannot be used as a means of differentiating the persons in the play, for they are all intensely dyspnoeic. W may be right in employing a system of punctuation which indicates pauses of different lengths. In future volumes he may even indicate coughs (five dots) and sneezes (six dots).

In II, i, 3, W reads “Why then this [glove] may be yours,” although a modern text demands commas after “Why” and after “then.” With his customary inconsistency, W sometimes has commas after interjectional “why” even where F has none, as in II, i, 10 (“Why, sir, who bade you call her?”).

In II, i, 12, Valentine replies to the impudent Speed with the words “Well: you'll still be too forward,” though to the modern reader this conveys a meaning very different from what the speaker intended. Valentine does not mean to say “it is well;” his “well” is only an interjection. A comma should replace the colon.

In II, i, 12, Valentine replies to the impudent Speed more than to greet him, “As you enjoined me; I have writ

your letter," though there is not the slightest justification for the semicolon; a comma is what is required—unless we are to understand that Valentine is having a choking fit.

In II, i, 104, Valentine says to the approving Silvia, "Now trust me, madam, it came hardly off." Inasmuch as there is nothing to indicate that Silvia had ever mistrusted her timid lover, there is no sense in his pleading with her to trust him now. What sensitive reader does not know that there should be a comma after "Now"?

In II, ii, 6, Proteus says to Julia, who has just given him her ring, "Why then we'll make exchange," although in a similar sentence, in II, iv, 21, W prints "Well, then, I'll double your folly" (though F has no comma after "Well").

In II, iii, 12, Launce says, "why, my grandam having no eyes, look you, wept herself blind," although a comma after "grandam" is indispensable. The words "having no eyes, look you" are parenthetical.

In II, iii, 35, Panthino dismisses Launce with the words "Away ass, you'll lose the tide." A comma after "Away" is demanded by all rules of punctuation.

In II, iv, 91, W reads, "Nay, then he should be blind"—though F has no comma after "Nay" and logic requires a comma after "then."

In II, iv, 138, W ruins the passage by reading "Now, no discourse, except it be of love," although the "Now" is an adverb of time here, not an expletive.

W's punctuation often gives the reader a wholly false notion of the poet's meaning. In III, i, 351, Launce says, "More hair than wit: it may be I'll prove it." Of course, what he really means to say is that "it is possible that she has more hair than wit; I'll examine the proposition." He does not intend to say that "it is possible, I'll find it to be so" or that "it is possible that I'll investigate it." The punctuation required is this: "it may be; I'll prove it."

The sixth scene of Act II opens thus in W's text (the treacherous Proteus is the speaker):

"To leave my Julia . . . shall I be forsworn?

To love fair Silvia . . . shall I be forsworn?

To wrong my friend, I shall be much forsworn . . ."

In defence of the absurd dots and interrogation points, W says (page 92): "Mod. edd [Modern editors] omit the query and read a comma after 'Julia' and 'Silvia.' The restoration of the F colons (represented by three dots)

makes the question marks explicable. Proteus is brooding." It needs no ghost from the grave to tell us that Proteus is brooding." Every reader of this play, especially W's text, knows that Proteus, the villain in an Elizabethan play, is indulging in a soliloquy in which he lays bare his mental processes and outlines the ensuing plot. That, however, has no bearing on the punctuation of these lines. Proteus cannot be asking himself whether he shall be forsworn if he forsake Julia; he is no fool. Nor can he be asking himself whether he will be forsworn if he love the fair Silvia. If he were indignantly rejecting the thought of doing anything that shall make him forsworn, he would not repeat the question. His assertion, in line 3, that by wronging Valentine he will be "much" forsworn shows that lines 1 and 2 are declarative assertions, paralleling what he says in line 3 and rising to a climax. This is further borne out by his reference to "threefold perjury" in line 5. Not a single editor before W has thought otherwise.

Why the Folio compositor put a question mark at the close of lines 1 and 2 is obvious: in both lines the pronoun "I" stands between the auxiliary "shall" and the predicate "be forsworne." He is guilty of the same silly practice when setting up sentences beginning with "How" and "When," as in I, ii, 58-64 (a passage in which W silently substitutes exclamation marks for question marks).

An even more important point to be noted in connection with the lines we are discussing is this: W cannot be trusted to report faithfully the text of F. He speaks of the "F. colons" which he is "restoring" (by a succession of dots), but the Folio text here has no colons; both after "Julia" and after "Silvia" F has semicolons. Either W does not know a colon from a semicolon or his assertions cannot be accepted without verification.

The opening line of II, vii, reads, "Counsel, Lucetta, gentle girl assist me." The only ascertainable reason for W's omission of the necessary comma after "girl" is the fact that there is none in F. That W does not really respect F's punctuation we shall show by only one other quotation. The last two lines of II, vi, as given by W, stand thus:

"Love, lend me wings to make my purpose swift,
As thou hast lent me wit to plot this drift!"

But in F the passage stands thus:

"Loue lend me wings, to make my purpose swift
As thou hast lent me wit, to plot this drift."

Any reader who still thinks that F's punctuation in this play is Shakspeare's or is delicate or dramatic, or worthy of preservation in a modern text, or that W is sincere in his pronouncements on F's punctuation, or has any logical principles guiding him in his punctuation of Shakspeare's text, is beyond the reach of logic. To pursue this phase of our subject further would be useless. We therefore turn our attention now to another aspect of W's editorial labors.

In several instances he takes it upon himself to indicate in the text departures from modern usage in the accentuation of certain words. Thus, for example, he instructs his readers to say "péremptory" (I, iii, 71, although the verse may be read thus: "Excuse it not, for I'm perémptry."), "cónjure" (II, vii, 2) "charáctered" (II, vii, 4), "éxtreme" (II, vii, 22), "persévers" (III, ii, 28), "consórt" (IV, i, 64), "sepúlche" (IV, ii, 113) and "exíle" (V, iv, 156). That in this matter, too, W is not guided by any logical principle is evidenced by his failure to indicate similar deviations from modern accentuation in many other instances, as, for example, in I, i, 57, 61, 71 (where we should read "Mílan"), I, i, 60 ("likewise"), I, ii, 36 ("conténts"), I, ii, 109 ("únkind"), I, ii, 124, and V, iv, 12 ("fórlorn"), I, iii, 13, and III, i, 145 ("impórtune"), I, iii, 23 ("pérfected"), III, i, 258 ("North-gáte"), III, ii, 3 ("exíle"), III, ii, 6 ("impréss"), III, ii, 60 and IV, ii, 4 ("accéss"), and IV, iii, 4, etc. ("Madám").

IV

W adds to his burdens the task of acting as stage-director for the benefit of the unimaginative reader. He presumes to be able to specify not only the actions and movements of the *dramatis personae* but even the tone of voice in which they deliver their speeches. There would be no great objection to this if W gave proof that he knows the play, is acquainted with the peculiarities of Elizabethan staging, has the faculty of visualizing the characters and the incidents, and is endowed with psychologic insight. Unfortunately for the reader, he shows little evidence of possessing these qualifications.

Because of some unreasonable prejudice, W refuses to

employ the conventional notations, "*Enter*," "*Exit*," and "*Exeunt*," notations which all dramatists find satisfactory and which every reader understands. W prefers to have the characters "*come forth*" and "*depart*" or "*go their way*" or "*swagger off*" or "*go in to dinner*," and so forth. When these stage-directions are correct, as they sometimes are, nothing is gained by the deviation from F; where they are incorrect, as they often are, much is lost.

"Discovery scenes," that is, scenes in which the characters are discovered on the stage at the opening of the scene, were, owing to the absence of a proscenium curtain, infrequent on the Elizabethan stage and must have been restricted to scenes which began on the rear stage behind the arras. On the Elizabethan stage—which Shakspeare kept in mind when he wrote his plays—the personages usually walked on from the same or opposite doors or entrances at the opening of a scene and walked off or were carried off at the end of the scene. By the omission of the word "*Enter*" at the beginning of certain scenes, W gives the reader the erroneous impression that these are discovery scenes. He does this with I, i; II, i (?), ii, iv, v, vii; III, ii; IV, i, ii and iii.

W locates I, i, in "*Verona: a street near Julia's house*," but Shakspeare probably did not think of it in that way. He and his audience did not trouble to locate the scenes so definitely; for them it sufficed that two young men, evidently the "Two Gentlemen," were somewhere [in Verona] and were bidding each other farewell. There is nothing in the scene to suggest Julia's house. Intimate friends do not bid each other farewell in the highway. From a commonsense viewpoint we would say that the scene opens in Valentine's home or on the porch whither Proteus had come to bid his friend farewell if he could not persuade him to stay home. On Valentine's departure (on one side of the stage), Proteus turns to go (through a door on the other side of the stage) when he is encountered by the lazy, dilatory Speed. In other words, we have here a typically Elizabethan "split scene," a part of which is supposed to go on in one place (in Valentine's home) and the succeeding part in another place (the street in front of that house). It had been worth while, we think, to indicate at line 66 ("Thou, Julia, thou hast metamorphosed me") that Proteus is looking at a portrait of his beloved which he has about him. He is addicted to portraits.

Opposite I, i, 129, W says that Speed eyes the coin given him by Proteus "*with contempt*," but this is more than questionable. It would have been more pertinent, though unnecessary, to say "*he pockets the gratuity*." Opposite line 139 Speed is instructed to deliver his speech "*dryly*"; a good actor would probably say it "*tantalizingly*." But such directions are wholly unnecessary and would be laughed at by actors; a text for general readers and students is not a playhouse copy, and the reader who would read such a text as W's may be presumed to have sufficient imagination to supply such "business" for himself and to know that at line 127 Proteus gives Speed a tip without having to read "*giving him money*" before the words "here is for your pains." Many of W's stage-directions are of this objectionable character, e.g., "*sits*" (I, ii, 4), "*looks down*" (I, ii, 14), "*stamps*" (I, ii, 50), "*over her shoulder*" (I, ii, 88), "*bows low*" (II, i, 92), "*bows*" (II, i, 95), "*coldly*" (II, i, 108), "*flushing*"* (II, i, 116), "*sighs*" (II, i, 163), "*sorrowfully*" (II, iii, 37), "*lightly*" (II, iv, 8), "*bowing*" (II, iv, 105), "*looks up*" (II, vii, 1), "*he takes him by the arm*" (III, i, 60), "*he turns on Valentine*" (III, i, 152), "*he Noses Valentine*" (III, i, 191), "*bends over him*" (III, i, 193), "*looks up*" (III, i, 208), etc. Needless to say, there is no limit to this sort of thing if an editor's conscience will permit him to indulge in such superfluities. Even at the best such directions are unpardonably presumptuous, but they are almost criminal when they are as poor and as often incorrect as W's are. Strangely enough, W fails to note opportunities for the indication of "business" which might really prove helpful. Thus, by way of example, at III, ii, 31, some readers might be helped by being told that Proteus speaks "*after pondering*," or that he speaks III, ii, 46 "*with seeming reluctance*."

W heads I, ii, with the words "*A door opens: Julia and Lucetta come forth*." This does not tell the reader whether this is an indoor or an outdoor scene. Inasmuch as it is almost certain (from line 118) that the scene between the girls occurs in the open air, the editor should not have left the matter in doubt.

At I, ii, 103, and elsewhere, W has the stage-direction "*she goes within*"—which probably is not correct English

*How does an actor "flush" at will?

even in England now, but "*within*" is (presumably) more elegant than "*in*."

At the end of I, ii, W says that Julia and Lucetta "*go in to dinner*" where F says merely "*Exeunt*." W seems to forget that he is editing a play, not telling a story. The reader of a play thinks of the scenes on a stage and of the entrances and exits with reference to the stage and nothing else. Whether the characters go in to dinner or elsewhere is of no importance; what matters is that certain persons appear on the stage or leave it. From the fact that in this instance the reader has been told (line 131) that "*Dinner is ready*," he infers that Julia and Lucetta are supposed to be going in to dinner. The editor should credit his readers with at least that much intelligence.

Without a word of explanation, W locates II, i, in "*A street in Milan*," although ever since Theobald all editors have located it within (!) "*the Duke's palace*" where, in a modern production, it should be. Valentine is much more likely to be loitering about the palace and (in the person of Speed) to find a glove of Silvia's there than in a street, and Silvia is much more likely to encounter him and perpetrate her little practical joke there. That the glove was not dropped by Valentine, though W says it was, is deducible from his surprise on beholding it ("Ha! let me see . . ."), from his saying to Launce "*ay [= ah!] give it me*," and from his rapturous "*Sweet ornament, that decks [present tense!] a thing divine*."

After II, i, 89, W says that "*Silvia approaches with her maid*" (F has no stage-direction, though one is needed) but he is in error in saying that she "*approaches*." Inasmuch as she engages in conversation with Valentine, it is certain that she entered. Furthermore, the dialogue gives no justification for the notation "*with her maid*." She is not chaperoned in other scenes, and there is no reason why it should be otherwise here. No other editor introduces a maid into this scene. The innovating W forgets all about the maid as the scene progresses; after line 128 Silvia "*bows and passes on*," the maid having, presumably, melted away into air, thin air. It is worth noting, by the way, that F has the stage-direction "*Exit. Sil.*" There is no maid in the list of *dramatis personae*.

W opens II, ii, with the notation, "*Verona: the street near Julia's house*." Some editors locate the scene within

"*Julia's house.*" Knowing Shakspeare's practice and the practice of his contemporaries, we know, of course, that Shakspeare probably made no attempt to localize this scene. Lovers do not go through the formality of a betrothal, such as we have here, including "a holy kiss," the exchange of rings, the clasping of hands, and "*embracing*" in the public highway. Nor does a lady parting from a gentleman going on a trip weep in the street. Of course, the entry of Panthino in Julia's house is somewhat irregular but it is certainly the lesser of two evils. (In *Othello*, a much later play, Bianca seems to meet Cassio in Desdemona's chamber.) W does not mend matters by saying that "*Panthino appears in the distance.*" If Panthino "*appears*" it constitutes an entry (unless W would have us think that an invisible Panthino shouts at Proteus from a distance) and the reader should be told so. W ends the scene with "*he [Proteus] goes,*" forgetting to get Panthino off the stage, though F says "*Exeunt.*" This forgetfulness regarding Panthino's exit is puzzling in view of W's stage-direction in the next scene (II, iii, 33), "*Panthino returns.*" How can one who has not gone be said to return?

Scene 5 of Act II W locates in "*a street near the quay: an alehouse hard by,*" implying that the alehouse (or the entrance to it) is visible to the audience in the theatre. (He ends the scene with "*they enter the alehouse.*") But Shakspeare's staging at this time was not given to such definite localization as this stage-direction implies. W is therefore misleading his uninitiated reader. His offence is aggravated by the fact that he insists that Shakspeare's plays were acted continuously, without interruptions between successive scenes, and that therefore there could have been no definite localization of scenes on the stage. Perhaps it might be pointed out that W does not place II, i, *near an ordinary*, even though that scene ends with Speed's dragging Valentine off to dinner. There W is content to end the scene with "*they move on.*" W is consistent only in being inconsistent.

Scene vi of this act opens with the direction "*Proteus slowly passes, on his way to the quay.*" Nothing in the scene indicates that Proteus is in the street or walking; he may be thought of as sitting or standing or pacing up and down in his room. That he is not "*on his way to the quay*" is certain. Shakspeare, in accordance with his usual technique, inserted II, v, between scenes iv and vi to give the

impression of a lapse of time since Proteus's arrival at the court. This effect is destroyed if we think of Proteus being on his way to the quay "to disembark some necessities" (II, iv, 185-186). From what Proteus says to the Emperor-Duke in III, i, 6-7 ("when I call to mind your gracious favors to me") it is certain that he has been at the court at least several days, and therefore he cannot now be on his way to the quay. That the events of III, i, occur on the same day on which we overhear Proteus's soliloquy (II, vi, 1-43) is proved by the words "now presently I'll give her father notice of their disguising and pretended flight" (lines 36-37). The time analysis of this play is bad enough without W's making it worse, even though in this regard Shakspeare was archaic, conventional and indifferent, as he was regarding place.

"Verona: a room in Julia's house" is W's heading to II, vii, although from line 82 it seems to be fairly certain that here Shakspeare thought of the scene as being out-of-doors, perhaps again in the "garden" in which Capell and others locate I, ii. A further objection to W's management of this scene is his making it another discovery scene (*"Julia, studying a map; Lucetta, sewing"*). Strangely enough the scene ends with *"they go out"*—but this is preferable to *"they go within"* (see II, ii, 16). Nothing in the text warrants the assumption that the maid is sewing; she may be inviting a gentleman to supper!

Without going into details about W's management of the next scene (III, i) which, too, he treats as a "discovery" scene, we shall speak only of one feature of it. The discomfited, wretched, and asinine Valentine—a man who under such circumstances does not realize that he had been betrayed by his only confidant and counsellor is an ass—is instructed (after line 187) to bury his face *"on"* the gorund; but W does not explain how this wonderful feat is to be accomplished.

Probably without intending it, W has the Duke administer a snub to Proteus and Thurio at the end of III, ii. In line 96 Proteus says to the Duke "We'll wait upon your grace till after supper," and W adds the stage-direction *"following [the Duke]"* but the Duke dismisses them ("I will pardon you") and then we have the unnecessary, unwarranted and unjustifiable stage-direction *"The Duke goes in to supper."* Such editorial liberties in what masquerades

as a scholarly edition are reprehensible beyond description.

An ordinary reader will be amazed to read (III. i, 191) that Launce "*noses Valentine*." Valentine, being a gentleman, would surely not feel complimented on learning that Launce found him by his smell.

Linguistic affectation is responsible for an error in the caption heading IV, ii. A strip of garden is said to divide a wall from a lofty "turret," although the editor probably had a tower in mind. This caption is wrong also in its excessive and un-Elizabethan detail, in calling for "*a moonlit night*" and in omitting W's overworked "bench" on which the host falls asleep (unless W would have us believe that the Host slept while "*crouching behind a bush*" (IV, ii, 78). Shakspeare must have meant the "pale queen of night" to come and go (as in *The Merchant of Venice*), otherwise we cannot understand why Silvia speaks to "gentlemen" after Thurio and the musicians had made their exit and why she did not recognize Proteus.

The elaborate stage-direction of which the above are parts ("*A wall, with a postern, behind the Duke's palace: inside a strip of garden dividing the wall from a lofty turret; outside, a narrow lane with bushes: a moonlit night*") is something which Shakspeare would never have thought of attempting, and which a modern reader cannot visualize without the aid of a diagram. W's pseudo-Elizabethan text (as regards pointing and scene divisions) combined with modernistic staging is, to say the least, "peculiar." Is there any reason for the wall's being "behind" the palace?

At the opening of IV, iv, W thinks it necessary to tell his readers that Launce is speaking "*to the dog*," but he is wrong; Launce is addressing the audience. Had he been addressing his remarks to the dog he would not have spoken in the third person singular ("three or four of his blind brothers . . . I was sent to deliver him," etc.). On the Elizabethan stage it was not unusual for a character in a play to address the audience. Proteus does the same thing, somewhat less obviously, in his two long soliloquies. Anything done by an editor which tends to give a wrong impression of the customs, manners, and conventions of his author's milieu and of the author's technique is a betrayal of the reader's interest.

Between scenes iii and iv of Act IV W has the notation "*Six or seven hours pass*," but one wonders how Shakspeare

would have conveyed this information to his audience if scenes ii, iii and iv were acted continuously. If consistency seemed to enter into the formation of this text, one might inquire why such time notes do not appear in other parts of the play.

Act V, ii, is, according to W, another discovery scene, although a comic effect can be produced on the stage—and it must always be remembered that the play was written with the stage in mind—by representing Proteus as being pursued by the foolish Thurio, and Julia (disguised) following both.

Preceding V, iv, 13, W has the following stage-direction: "*He [Valentine] muses; cries and the sound of blows are heard.*" There is nothing in the text to justify "*the sound of blows.*" Nobody was beaten.

After line 18 W has Silvia come from the wood "*in disarray,*" implying that one of the outlaws had attempted to assault her and that Proteus had rescued her. The only possible justification for this is Proteus's statement that he had hazarded his life to rescue Silvia "from him That would have forc'd your honour and your love." But these words cannot apply to one of the outlaws; a rapist cannot be said to force his victim's honor and love. That Shakspeare would have made one of his heroines the victim of two intended rapes, even in so poor a play as this is, in one scene, is utterly incredible. Nor can we believe that if such an attack had occurred something would not have been said about it either before or after the entry of the outlaws. Furthermore, the chivalric Robin Hood code by which Valentine's outlaw mates are bound would have made anything so dishonorable as an attempted rape by one of them impossible. They "detest such vile base practices" (IV, i, 73). What, then, does the "forced honor and love" refer to? The only explanation we can offer is this: part of this scene (lines 19-54), with the exception of lines 26-27 and 32) is the remnant of an earlier and now lost scene between Silvia and Proteus in which he tried to convince her that Valentine's intentions with regard to her had not been honorable and that he (Proteus) had saved her from him. That this play, as we have it in F, is Shakspeare's unfinished revision of an older play we shall try to show from other lines of evidence as we proceed.

[*To be continued*]

PROVERBS AND *SENTENTIAE* IN THE PLAYS OF SHAKSPERE

By KATHERINE LEVER

IT is somewhat ironical that so many of the wise sayings of Shakspeare, wise sayings frequently repeated and given to children for memorization, should be spoken by characters like Iago and Falstaff, whom the educators of the young would never hold up for emulation. The value of a good reputation has been demonstrated so convincingly in *Othello* that many quoters of the passage either forget that it is Iago, the destroyer of reputations, who speaks or else believe that the context is unimportant. It is impossible, however, for a student of Shakspeare not to notice the deep and bitter irony of Iago's sententious remarks, and equally impossible not to wonder whether Shakspeare himself might not have thought cynically of those aphorisms which have contributed so much to his reputation for wisdom. These doubts raise the whole problem of the function of proverbs and sententious remarks in the plays of Shakspeare: a problem which this paper attempts to solve.

INTRODUCTION

First, then, what are proverbs and *sententiae*? That this is no easy question to answer is shown by Professor B. J. Whiting in his article, "The Nature of the Proverb."¹ Mr. Whiting outlines here the history of the many attempts to define a proverb, none of which has been completely successful. His own conclusion is more like an analysis than a definition.

A proverb is an expression, which, owing its birth to the people, testifies to its origin in form and phrase. It expresses what is apparently a fundamental truth,—that is, a truism,—in homely language, often adorned, however, with alliteration and rhyme. It is usually short but need not be; it is usually true, but need not be. Some proverbs have both a literal and a figurative meaning either of which makes perfect sense; but more often they have but one of the two. A proverb must be venerable; it must have the sign of antiquity. . . .²

Even more important for our purpose is Mr. Whiting's division of proverbial literature into three classes. The

¹*Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, vol. XIV, Cambridge, 1932.

²*Ibid.*, p. 302.

first, the proverb proper, has already been defined. The third, the sententious remark, he describes as a "piece of wisdom which has not crystallized into specific current form."³ It may be distinguished from a proverb "because it is heavy and amorphous in comparison with the popular product."⁴ The second variety is the proverbial phrase, of which nothing will be said in this paper. Such proverbial phrases as "against the hair," which Shakspeare uses instead of the current "against the grain," are interesting chiefly from a linguistic point of view. Mere references to proverbs (when the proverbs are not actually quoted) lie also beyond the scope of the present investigation.

My terminology differs from Mr. Whiting's only in that I have preferred to use the Latin word *sententia* rather than "sententious remark," because it is less clumsy. Another possibility, the Elizabethan term "sentence," suggests brevity and does not convey to the modern mind the implications of thought or philosophical proposition which are contained in the word *sententia*.

Clearly, the distinction between *sententia* and proverb is, at best, a shadowy one. It sometimes happens, indeed, that "what was originally a sententious remark, perhaps a bit of philosophy or a quotation from the Bible, comes to be considered a proverb."⁵ Wherever it is necessary to distinguish between these two classes, I have depended upon the *Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs*, in which the occurrence of proverbs before Shakspeare's time is noted. Often, however, it is unimportant to discriminate between *sententia* and proverbs, and in such cases the wider term, generalization, is used.

A generalization is a product of *thought*, and it makes no difference whether the generalization is a *sententia* or a proverb. If it is a *sententia*, the speaker usually believes that he is expressing an opinion which he has himself formed or, at least, which he has made sufficiently his own to be able to replace it in his own words. If it is a proverb, the process of thought is slightly different, but thought is no less present. To use a proverb correctly implies that the speaker has understood the general exemplified in the par-

³"The Nature of the Proverb," p. 306.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 306.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 306.

ticular act and has simply repeated the rule in the form in which he has heard it before. To use a proverb incorrectly, implies a corresponding lack of intelligence.

Shakspeare wrote when the popularity of the proverb was at high tide. Native proverbs had begun to appear in England as early as the eighth century and throughout the middle ages they had increased in number and currency. But it was not until the sixteenth century that the collection and conscious use of proverbs became the fashion for scholars and writers. It was during this century, also, that there occurred in England the great influx of German, French, Italian, and classical proverbs, a trend considered by Dr. Morris Palmer Tilley as "the characteristic feature of Elizabethan proverbs in contrast with English proverbs before that time."⁶

Knowledge of proverbs was spread through books like the *Adagia* of Erasmus and John Heywood's *Dialogue containing the Number of the Effectual Proverbs in the Englishe Tounge*, both books widely read in the sixteenth century. The publication of *Euphues* and of Pettie's *Pallace* made the use of proverbs the cult of the literary coteries of the day. Ben Jonson and Henry Porter mocked at the overuse of proverbs, but their words had almost no effect upon the proverb's popularity in the seventeenth century.

It was not until the eighteenth century that the tide really began to turn, hastened in its course by the disdain of Lord Chesterfield and the biting satire of Jonathon Swift. However, the sententious remark was still held in high repute, and it is only in comparatively recent times that the word "sententious" has acquired the meaning of pompous moralizing.

Was Shakspeare, as a young man, attracted by the Euphuistic use of proverbs as literary embellishments or did he become "preachy" as he grew older, and filled his later plays with *sententiae*? Neither hypothesis is supported by my statistics. *Love's Labor's Lost* contains over thirty generalizations; but other relatively early plays, such as *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *King John*, and *The Comedy of Errors*, contains an average of only twelve generalizations apiece. The four great tragedies have many general-

⁶Elizabethan Proverb Lore in Lyly's "Euphues" and in Pettie's "Petite Pallace" with parallels from Shakespeare, New York, 1926, p. 1.

izations, but among Shakspeare's latest works, *A Winter's Tale*, *Cymbeline*, and *The Tempest* average, like the early plays, only about twelve generalizations each. *Hamlet* has forty-four, more than any other play; *Twelfth Night*, written about the same time, has only fourteen.

However, the statistics are not entirely without significance, for it is clear that the number of generalizations depends upon the type of play. Farces like *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and *The Taming of the Shrew*, in which the development of the plot is the focus of attention, have the fewest. The largest number of generalizations appears in tragedies wherein the element of thought is prominent. The histories and the higher comedies fall in between.

Of course, the many generalizations in plays like *Hamlet* and *Measure for Measure* are to a large extent the instruments by which the impression of thoughtfulness is created. But it is my contention that those serious plays contain characters and situations which are by their very nature productive of proverbs and sententious remarks. Let us examine the nature of these characters and situations more closely.

SIX "SENTENTIOUS" CHARACTERS

Six characters express their thoughts most frequently in a general form. They are Iago, Hamlet, the Duke in *Measure for Measure*, Polonius, Ulysses, and Berowne. What a heterogeneous group they seem to be! There are young men and old men, villains and heroes, tragic and comic figures—men who apparently have nothing in common. There is, however, one characteristic which they all possess—intellectuality. They are all thinking men. They think different things and they think in different ways, but all have advanced from the perceptual level of intelligence to the conceptual.

This statement would be acceptable to almost everyone, I believe, though possible objection might be made to the inclusion of one character. How can it be said that Polonius, doddering old foolish Polonius, is an intelligent man? Hamlet certainly makes Polonius seem ridiculous and his sententiousness is apt to be boring, but there are two considerations which ought to make us at least pause and think before we accept the traditional view. A clever man like

Claudius, King of Denmark, would not be likely to have a fool for his councillor. And the advice of Polonius to his son is shrewd and sound. It was by following those principles, we may suppose, that Polonius had attained the high position in the court which he held. Laertes would have done well had he also followed them.

It may still be objected that Polonius's statements are trite and "sententious." The only answer to one who speaks thus is to bid him brush aside the centuries which have intervened and to place himself in the position of a spectator at the first performance of *Hamlet*. No one has ever said to him,

Neither a borrower nor a lender be;
For loan oft loses both itself and friend,
And borrowing dulls the edge of husbandry.⁷

He has never had it drilled into him by teachers and clergymen that he should to his own self be true, or to "give every man his ear, but few his voice."⁸ He, as an Elizabethan, has doubtless heard similar thoughts expressed but he enjoys the clever, antithetical way in which they are spoken here. He and the rest of the audience like these maxims because, as Aristotle says, people "are delighted when a general statement of the speaker hits those opinions which they hold in a particular case."⁹ To an Elizabethan, then, these generalizations would not be trite, and their sententiousness would be to his liking.

An amusing instance of the clever way in which Shakespeare uses contrast is in making Polonius utter the famous words, "brevity is the soul of wit."¹⁰ This generalization has been quoted so frequently since its first enunciation that it has now become proverbial, but there is no earlier reference to it in the *Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs*.

The mind of Polonius is not a deep one. He is not concerned with anything beyond material success in a materialistic world, but to understand how to make the best impression on other men and how to gain and keep their friendship is not an accomplishment to be scorned. He is

⁷*Hamlet*, I, iii, 75. All Shaksperian quotations are from *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*, ed. George L. Kittredge, Boston, 1936.

⁸*Ibid.*, I, iii, 68.

⁹Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, ii, 21.

¹⁰*Hamlet*, II, ii, 90.

neither witty nor philosophical, but he is shrewd, and shrewdness is a form of intelligence.

No such justification is needed for the next character. The keenness of Iago's mind is undisputed, but what a warped intelligence it is! He offers no advice to another which is not determined by his own self-interest. To patient Roderigo, Iago says,

How poor are they that have not patience!
What wound did ever heal but by degrees?
Thou know'st we work by wit, and not by witchcraft;
And wit depends on dilatory time.¹¹

Twenty lines later, when Roderigo has gone, Iago contradicts his former statement that "wit depends on dilatory time," and says, "Dull not device by coldness and delay."

Self-contradiction for the sake of advantage is to be expected in a villain, and is shocking but not horrifying. What makes our blood curdle is the frequent use of generalizations with double meanings. Iago says to Othello,

To be direct and honest is not safe;¹²

and later,

for honesty's a fool
And loses that it works for.¹³

Othello thinks that Iago is protesting against the accusation of dishonesty made against him. The audience, however, would understand that these generalizations apply with much more truth to Othello himself. Another and better-known example of the way in which Iago masks his true feelings behind sententious remarks occurs earlier in the same scene. At the very moment in which he is about to ruin a man's reputation, he discourses on its pricelessness; when he is devoting his whole energy and intelligence to arousing deadly jealousy in Othello, he warns Othello to beware of jealousy because it destroys its possessors. One last example is his remark, "Pleasure and action make the hours seem short."¹⁴ How true that is! we are tempted to think. How true, but how horrible when we remember what the pleasure and the action are to which Iago refers!

Polonius gives advice; Iago uses generalizations to further his own wicked designs; Hamlet speaks in the majority

¹¹*Othello*, II, iii, 376.

¹²*Othello*, III, iii, 378.

¹³*Ibid.*, III, iii, 382.

of cases for his own satisfaction. The philosophical turn of Hamlet's mind is most clearly marked, I think, in the grave-diggers' scene; here, although he is ostensibly talking to Horatio, he seems to be thinking aloud rather than addressing any one. His soliloquies, since they are spoken thoughts, naturally contain many generalizations, but the more interesting generalizations are those uttered when others are listening but are not being addressed directly. A good example is in the first act when Horatio, Marcellus and Hamlet are waiting for the ghost. Horatio has asked Hamlet about the flourish of trumpets. Hamlet explains the custom and then continues with the observation about the "vicious mole of nature."¹⁵ His remarks, interrupted by the ghost and by Horatio's cry, are of little external value; that is, they neither carry on the action nor directly affect the characterization, except in so far as they reveal early in the play Hamlet's interest in philosophy. Their intrinsic value is, of course, unquestioned.

Hamlet was a student, with the reflective mind of a student. When he is alone his thoughts often take a general form, and also (and this is an interesting point) when he is with Horatio. I have already mentioned two scenes in which he talks freely to, or in the presence of, Horatio, and there is another which ought to be mentioned. In the second scene of the fifth act Hamlet is telling Horatio how he escaped from the ship which was carrying him to England. He says,

Sir, in my heart there was a kind of fighting
That would not let me sleep. Methought I lay
Worse than the mutines in the bilboes. Rashly—
And prais'd be rashness for it; let us know,
Our indiscretion sometime serves us well
When our deep plots do pall; and that should learn us
There's a divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough-hew them how we will—

Horatio.

That is most certain.

Hamlet. Up from my cabin, . . .¹⁶

Notice how Hamlet starts to tell his story, beginning with the word "rashly," and then is diverted from it by the idea which occurs to him that rashness is not always the fault

¹⁴*Ibid.*, II, iii, 385.

¹⁵*Hamlet*, I, iv, 24 ff.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 4.

it is commonly thought to be. The realization that deep plots fail suggests the further reflection that there is something beyond and above us which controls our actions. Where this idea might have led, we do not know because Horatio interrupts him, prompted by a desire to hear the story.

But Hamlet's mind was keen and piercing, as well as reflective. When he is with Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, Polonius, or the King, his generalizations are bitter and cynical. For instance, Rosencrantz says, "I understand you not, my lord." To which Hamlet replies, "I am glad of it. A knavish speech sleeps in a foolish ear."¹⁷ The proverb, "The cat will mew, and dog will have his day," is flung as an insult at the King by Hamlet as he leaves the stage.¹⁸

Hamlet's cynicism is intensified by the political glad-hands offered him by Rosencrantz, Guildenstern, and Polonius. The sweetness with which they try to coat their true purposes exasperates him into saying things like, "Use every man after his desert, and who should scape whipping?"¹⁹ and "To be honest, as this world goes, is to be one man pick'd out of ten thousand."²⁰

The generalizations of the Duke in *Measure for Measure* have a mellow quality quite different from the penetration of those of Hamlet. The Duke had always "lov'd the life removed."²¹ His remarks at the beginning disclose a calm mind observing the world by the light of reason and unaffected by strong emotions. For example,

Heaven doth with us as we with torches do,
Not light them for themselves; for if our virtues
Did not go forth of us, 'twere all alike
As if we had them not.²²

How different is his soliloquy after he has learned Angelo's trickery and immediately following his first conversation with Lucio!

Nor might nor greatness in mortality
Can censure scape. Back-wounding calumny
The whitest virtue strikes. What king so strong
Can tie the gall up in the slanderous tongue?²³

¹⁷IV, ii, 24.

¹⁸V, i, 315.

¹⁹II, ii, 555.

²⁰II, ii, 178.

²¹*Measure for Measure*, I, iii, 8.

²²*Ibid.*, I, i, 33.

²³*Ibid.*, III, ii, 196.

At the end of the play, when virtue is about to be rewarded, he resumes his calm, reasonable attitude toward life. It is fitting that he should be the one to point the moral of the play with these words,

Haste still pays haste, and leisure answers leisure;
Like doth quit like, and Measure still for Measure.²⁴

Ulysses is a wise and clever councillor whose main concern is to bring the expedition against Troy to as speedy conclusion as possible. His long experience as one of the leaders of the army has sharpened his naturally keen insight into the ways of mankind, and the fruits of this experience are given to us in two long speeches. This use of generalizations as forensic weapons will be discussed later.

Berowne, in *Love's Labor's Lost*, differs from the other characters in this group because of his gaiety of spirit. He is a young man, witty and clever rather than a deep and philosophical thinker. Indeed, he thinks that the life of complete seclusion and study is not only impossible to sustain for long but not even worth the effort. He says in defense of his position,

Study is like the heaven's glorious sun,
That will not be deep search'd with saucy looks.
Small have continual plodders ever won
Save base authority from others' books.
These earthly godfathers of heaven's lights
That give a name to every fixed star
Have no more profit of their shining nights
Than those that walk and wot not what they are.
Too much to know is to know naught but fame;
And every godfather can give a name.²⁵

We may not agree with Berowne; but Ferdinand is certainly right when he says,

How well he's read, to reason against reading!²⁶

SENTENTIAE AND CHARACTER

Corresponding to these individual characters are five main types of characters who are prone to generalize: villains, tragic heroes, dukes and kings, wise old councillors, and young men in comedies.

Edmund, in *King Lear*, echoes Iago when he says, "This

²⁴*Ibid.*, V, i, 415.

²⁵I, i, 84.

²⁶I, i, 94.

is the excellent foppery of the world, that, when we are sick in fortune, often the surfeit of our own behaviour, we make guilty of our disasters the sun, the moon, and the stars."²⁷ The analogous passage in *Othello* is, "'Tis in ourselves that we are thus or thus."²⁸ It is interesting that the other, more famous, expression of this same *sententia* is spoken by Cassius:

The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars,
But in ourselves, that we are underlings.²⁹

The comment made by Cæsar about Cassius, "he thinks too much,"³⁰ is significant in this connection.

Edmund, Iago, Cassius, all clever, scheming, unscrupulous men, hold the same philosophy of life. This is not accidental but the natural consequence of the sound characterization of such men. These men believe in themselves. They trust no one but themselves and found their hopes for success only upon their own abilities. Therefore, to admit that some power greater than man could influence the course of human events would be to admit an element of chance which might wreck even their best-laid plans. Edmund alone, when he is dying, recognizes the influence of fortune and the inability of man to be completely his own master.

Of the tragic heroes other than Hamlet, Brutus and Macbeth generalize most frequently, Antony and Troilus the least, which is not surprising considering the respective characters of the men. Brutus expresses in some of his soliloquies what are, to me, at any rate, some of the most profound and original ideas to be found in all of Shakspeare's works. One of the finer examples is,

Between the acting of a dreadful thing
And the first motion, all the int'rim is
Like a phantasma or a hideous dream.
The genius and the mortal instruments
Are then in council, and the state of man,
Like to a little kingdom, suffers then
The nature of an insurrection.³¹

Macbeth has only three long soliloquies in the whole play, and in the first two he is concentrating so completely

²⁷I, ii, 128.

²⁸I, iii, 322.

²⁹*Julius Caesar*, I, ii, 140.

³⁰*Ibid.*, , ii, 195.

³¹*Ibid.*, II, i, 63.

upon the immediate business at hand that he generalizes little. Except for the last well-known soliloquy, almost all of his generalizations are rhyme tags or only one line long. His few *sententiae* are like glowering clouds foreboding rain, not unlike the *sententiae* so frequently found in Greek choruses:

False face must hide what the false heart doth know.³²

Or again,

Words to the heat of deeds too cold breath gives.³³

Macbeth twice uses proverbs in a very dramatic way. One very old proverb, "God beginning maketh god endynge,"³⁴ becomes in Macbeth's mouth.

Things bad begun make strong themselves by ill.³⁵

Another old proverb is not changed but repeated with ominous effect:

It will have blood, they say; blood will have blood.³⁶

Of the three remaining types of characters only a few words need be said. The kings generalize occasionally, as is natural for those in authority. The king in *Hamlet* has generalizations to speak, because he is also a villain, and Henry the Fourth, in the second play, because he is at the point of death. Although no one councillor, except Polonius and Ulysses, uses many generalizations, no group is so widely represented. In the history plays, especially, almost every one of the advisors of the king or his rival lets fall an occasional *sententia* or proverb during the course of the play. Of the young men in comedies, Claudio is an exceptional case because he is at the point of death, which, as we shall see later, is apt to make a person philosophical. Benedick quotes proverbs in his sparring with Beatrice, and Valentine and Proteus are full of conventional *sententiae* about life and love.

There are three other types of characters, not represented in our first list of characters, who frequently couch their opinions in general form. They are friars, fools, and women. The friar is really just a special kind of a councilor, and in his advisory capacity naturally resorts to general statements. This is clearly indicated by the rôle played by the Friar in *Romeo and Juliet*.

[To be continued]

³²*Macbeth*, I, vii, 82.

³³*Ibid.*, II, i, 61.

³⁴*Proverbs of Hendring*, ii.

³⁵*Macbeth*, III, ii, 55.

³⁶*Ibid.*, III, iv, 122.

SHAKSPERE'S PHILOSOPHICAL PATTERNS

By ROBERT M. SMITH

PROFESSOR CURRY'S *Shakespeare's Philosophical Patterns*¹ is an ambitious and misleading title for two profound and illuminating studies of *Macbeth* and *The Tempest*. A better title would have been *Philosophical Patterns in Macbeth and The Tempest*, for Professor Curry does not at all contend that Shakspeare's philosophy can be found in his plays. Carefully, wisely, and repeatedly he guards himself against any such dangerous assumption:

"The dramatic artist is rarely, if ever, a philosopher in the sense that he builds a philosophical system of his own—he is always primarily the creative artist and not the philosopher" (p. 210) . . . "to reconstruct an author's point of view from the philosophical content of a drama is a futile procedure" (p. 212) . . . Shakspeare's "intimate 'philosophy of life', if he had one, does not seem to be recoverable by means of any analysis or synthesis of his plays. He was neither prophet nor teacher" (p. ix).

Such a sound preliminary contention does not mean, however, that Shakspeare does not appropriate and utilize in his plays philosophical concepts prevalent in his day. Perhaps the most basic of these, as a number of valuable books have recently been pointing out, is the medieval philosophical system.² In *Shakespeare's Problem Comedies* Professor W. W. Lawrence wrote a definitive book illustrating the influence of medieval story-telling and convention on the so-called 'dark' comedies. Preceding Professor Curry's valuable study, came Hardin Craig's *The Enchanted Glass*, cursed with unreadability, and Theodore Spencer's *Death in Elizabethan Drama*, a good preliminary to the most thoroughgoing and valuable of all discussions of medievalism in the English drama, Willard Farnham's *The Medieval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy*. After studying these books no one is likely to indulge again in that easy

¹Louisiana State University Press, 1937.

²See many other articles listed in G. C. Taylor's *The Medieval Element in Shakspeare*.

generalization that Shakspeare was primarily a Renaissance artist and thinker.

Readers of *Shakespeare's Philosophical Patterns* will do well after reading the "Introduction" to turn directly to Professor Curry's essay on *Patterns* in the Appendix in order to find a clarification of his point of view, and further definitions and terms. There are many patterns to be found in poetic drama—metrical, rhythmic, chronological, atmospheric, logical, psychological, allegorical, but the all-integrating and absorbing principle is the philosophical pattern.

Professor Curry demonstrates that Shakspeare, though a completely objective dramatist, utilized in *Macbeth* and *The Tempest* philosophical principles from two directly contrasting systems. *Macbeth* is fundamentally medieval and Christian; *The Tempest* is Neo-Platonic, and essentially classical and pagan in spirit. Each play carries its own philosophical patterns, and is an artistic law to itself; in fact—and this is Professor Curry's main thesis—"each of Shakespeare's individual dramas is a unique world unto itself, governed by its proper laws, peopled by its special characters, and integrated by a philosophical pattern separate and distinct from all others." It is doubtful whether such a thesis does not stress too heavily the presence of philosophical patterns in all the plays. For some of them, especially the tragedies, it holds better than for the comedies. It might be difficult for Professor Curry to find a philosophical pattern shaping and controlling, for example, *The Comedy of Errors*, *The Two Gentlemen*, or *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, but he is quite right in contending that the plays cannot be grouped together and reduced to a philosophical system.

Professor Curry also refutes again for us the "tough legend," as he characterizes it, that the Renaissance disowned its medieval heritage in matters philosophical. On the contrary, the scholastic synthesis is a form of thinking and a way of life that has never disappeared; it still recruits large numbers of followers in fervent periods of Catholic and Anglo-Catholic revival, as under Newman and Pusey

in the 19th century, and finds new converts daily in a world seemingly given over completely to violence and destruction.

The tragedy of *Macbeth*, perhaps more than any other play, is dominated throughout by the demonic metaphysics of medieval thought; the Weird Sisters are intended to symbolize or represent the metaphysical world of evil spirits, essentially tragic beings who, for the sake of certain abnormal powers, have sold themselves to the devil. Evil under this system is revealed in two modes or categories, objectively as the malignant activity of demons or fallen angels, and subjectively in the human spirit as original or other sin. Both Macbeth and Lady Macbeth by "free, creative action" have embraced these murdering ministers who progressively destroy them.

"Macbeth never loses completely the liberty of free choice which is the supreme *bonum naturae* of mankind. . . . Thus the Fate which broods over Macbeth may be identified with that disposition inherent in all created things . . . by which providence knits all things in their proper order. . . . One may well stand in awe of such a being, indissolubly linked in essence to the natural and divine forces which govern the universe; and one may exult in the possibility of his exercising free volition even to his own salvation and damnation. We may pity the individual's bewilderment, suffering, and misdirected struggle for happiness, but the man's infallible response to the appearance of good must arouse our respect and admiration."

Instead of the demoniacal fallen angels of the Christian system in *Macbeth*, we find in *The Tempest* the hierarchy of Neo-Platonic dæmons, which control the activities of nature and mediate between gods and men. Prospero is the sacred personage or Theurgist, *i.e.*, the scientist who sets about controlling the activities of nature through the subjugation of its guardian spirits to his will. He is the wise philosopher-magician who employs beneficent spirits for benevolent purposes; he exemplifies White Magic. The foul Witch Sycorax, on the other hand, who, cohabiting with an aquatic dæmon, produces Caliban, practices Black Magic—goetical art as contrasted with theurgical art. Prospero abandons the theurgical art when, after forgiving his enemies, he wishes to take the final step and consummate

the assimilation of his soul to the gods. His ending is despair, unless he is relieved by prayer, since true prayer for the Neo-Platonist elevates the soul to the gods, and when elevated conjoins it as much as possible with them.

Professor Curry's interpretation of Neo-Platonism in *The Tempest* will be found to rest upon weaker foundations than his findings of medieval Christian thought in *Macbeth*. To round out his Neo-Platonic argument he needs Prospero's farewell epilogue as the final aspiration of the Platonic soul heavenward. Though many critics still persist in identifying this epilogue with Shakspeare's personal farewell to his art, since the days of Richard Grant White and Furness there have been critics who believe on good grounds that Shakspeare did not write it, and recently other critics, like Stoll, have stigmatized the epilogue as the veriest drivel and doggerel.

"One hopes that those sorry lines are not by Shakspeare . . . the Epilogue is nothing more than a series of wire-drawn conceits on the subject of pardon and indulgence . . ." (P. M. L. A., Vol 47, p. 704).

Such critical considerations do some damage to Professor Curry's argument, and may serve as a warning not to impose philosophical systems too heavily on Shakspeare's plays.

To the support of his interpretation of both *Macbeth* and *The Tempest* Professor Curry brings learned expositions of scholastic and neo-pagan doctrines from the philosophical monuments. It is to be hoped that he will study *Lear* and other tragedies, since so far he has been scrupulously careful not to claim a philosophy for his author, or to contend that Shakspeare was as learned in the scholastic and neo-platonic books as the critic who draws from them the light which they cast on philosophical patterns in the plays.

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EDITORIAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

By S. A. T.

SONNET 20

Shakspeare's twentieth sonnet has been most curiously, if not perversely, misunderstood. Many readers and—what is even more strange—reputed Shaksperian scholars have regarded this sonnet as the poet's confession of being homosexually bound to a "man right fair." What is amazing about this is the fact that this sonnet furnishes an explicit, direct, and unequivocal denial of any such relationship. It is almost as if Shakspeare, anticipating such a charge, had decided to set himself right with the world and leave no loop to hang a doubt on.

In the past two or three years several writers on the *Sonnets* have attacked this problem—needlessly, of course. The latest of these is Mr. Walter Thomson,* who attempts to give Shakspeare a clean bill of health by maintaining (with some of his predecessors) that the word "passion"—in the obscure words "master-mistress of my passion"—means "poem" (a meaning which the word undoubtedly sometimes had in Shakspeare's day) and that the more difficult expression, "master-mistress" means a man (Henry Wriothlesley!) with a woman's features. That these words bear these meanings here may well be doubted. The Earl of Southampton does not look like a woman in any of his paintings; for one thing, his beard (worn when he was only 21 years old!) forbids me to think so. "Passion" may mean nothing more than "affection," just as "lover" often meant no more than "friend" to Shakspeare and his contemporaries; "master-mistress" probably means "the male who stands in the place of a female (in my devotion)." To Elizabethans these exaggerated expressions would

have seemed perfectly appropriate when used in connection with an intimate and loyal friend. If Shakspeare had thought that they could or would be interpreted as a revelation of a homosexual relationship, he would not have permitted them to be circulated (as Meres tells us they were) "among his private friends."

The denial of inversion (to use a less hackneyed term) is contained in the last four lines of the sonnet in question. To understand them the reader need only bear in mind Shakspeare's addiction to punning.

Till Nature, as she wrought thee, fell
a-doting,

And by addition me of thee defeated,
By adding one thing to my purpose
nothing.

But since she prickt thee out for
women's pleasure,

Mine be thy love, and thy love's use
their treasure.

Inasmuch as commentators are too squeamish to interpret these lines for the simple-minded reader, we shall paraphrase them here: "While Nature (conceived as a female—"as she wrought thee") was forming thee as a female in thy mother's womb, she fell in love with you and decided to add something (a phallus) to your body which would transform you into a male; by this addition she cheated me of you, for this thing which she added is of no value to me ("to my purpose nothing"). Well, then, since nature equipped you with an organ which is framed to give pleasure only to women, give me your affection and satisfy your sexual urge upon them."

**The Sonnets of William Shakespeare and Henry Wriothlesley . . . Together with "A Lover's Complaint" and "The Phoenix & Turtle,"* by Walter Thomson; printed & sold for the Editor by B. Blackwell & H. Young & Sons, Liverpool, pp. viii, 200; 12s. 6d.

SONNET SPECULATIONS

In the book we have just noticed—a very engaging and readable but wholly unconvincing book—the courageous author and editor argues for the following propositions: Shakspeare wrote only about 100 of the sonnets usually credited to him; these *Sonnets* were inspired by the Earl of Southampton; "Mr. W. H." of the dedication is a dual personality consisting of W[illiam Shakspeare] and H[enry Wriothesley]—an ingeniously fantastic suggestion which may take its place alongside the "William Himself" absurdity; the greater number of the remaining 54 sonnets were probably written by the Earl of Southampton or "were collected by him"; Shakspeare was involved in two unhappy amours (related in the *Sonnets*) and two quarrels with Southampton; Shakspeare had "very little or no hand in the Dark Woman series" (127 to 153); the Phoenix of *The Phoenix & Turtle* ("an essential part of the Sonnet story") is Southampton; in *A Lover's Complaint* Shakspeare gives us "a peep into the close affectionate relationship between him and the young Southampton;" the *Sonnets* were stolen from Southampton's library by someone for Thorpe; and so forth. In the course of the book Alexander Schmidt and Samuel Butler come in for a long and thorough drubbing, the former for his definition of the words "passion" and "master-mistress," the latter for his homosexual interpretation of Sonnet 20. Of course, the homosexual theory was old before either of these scholars wrote on the *Sonnets*.

The trouble with Mr. Thomson's book is that it presents not a particle of what might be regarded as evidence, external or internal, in substantiation of his views; a much bigger and duller book could be written to dis-

prove his theses. But we are grateful to him for a nicely printed book and a well-edited presentation of the poems involved in his discussion.

ANOTHER HAMLET*

The Princeton University Press has just published an edition of *Hamlet* with a learned introduction and commentary by two distinguished scholars, Professors T. M. Parrot and H. Craig. The publisher says (on the jacket) that this book gives us "a text which is undoubtedly nearer to the text of the play as Shakespeare actually wrote it than is any previous version." The editors tell us that their purpose was "to produce an edition at once readable and critical of the authentic text," and that therefore they have given us a critical edition of the second quarto (1604). Many of our readers probably know that this means that our editors have swallowed—hook, line, and sinker—Professor Dover Wilson's views regarding this play. In so doing they have committed themselves to some of the unsoundest, most unscholarly literary speculations of recent times. Professor Wilson's notions about what he calls "scientific bibliography" are so wild and unscientific, such wholly arbitrary assumptions, that his conclusions have not the slightest validity. To base an edition of the play on his work is, therefore, to render the scholar a decided disservice. Fortunately, notwithstanding the editors' assertion to the contrary, this book is so unreadable as a *Hamlet* text, that not many are likely to play havoc with their temper by attempting it. Few modern readers will waste their time on a

**The Tragedy of Hamlet: A Critical Edition of the Second Quarto, 1604, with Introduction and textual notes*; edited by Thomas Marc Parrott & Hardin Craig; Princeton: Princeton University Press 1938; pp. x, 247; \$3.50.

book which prints passages like the following:

Or if thou hast vphoorded in thy life
Extorted treasure in the womb of earth
For which they say you spirits oft
walke in death,
Speake of it, stay and speake, stop it
Marcellus.

The editors object to "all modern texts" for being "a conflation of those presented in the Second Quarto and the First Folio;" but, if we are any judges, their text is so too, inasmuch as they frequently abandon Q2 in favor of a Folio reading.

The essential defect of this book—apart from its adoption of most of the Quarto's wretched, chaotic punctuation—may be illustrated by its comment on the word "bands," in I, ii, 24. (The Folio reads "Bonds.") The editors say: "Shakespeare made little or no distinction between these interchangeable terms. F[olio] represents modernization." Let us examine these statements. Inasmuch as both "band" and "bond" were in general use throughout the Middle English period, and to Shakespeare they were "interchangeable," there is no propriety in calling the Folio's word a "modernization"; as far as we know, "bond"—the better of the two words—goes back to the early 13th century and therefore has as venerable a lineage as "band." Furthermore, there is not the slightest shadow of justification for misleading students and readers into thinking that the word "band" was archaic or falling into disuse when the Folio was being prepared for publication.

And, thirdly and lastly, the most probable explanation—in view of many similar variations in the Q and F texts—is that "bonds" and "bands" may be due merely to slight differences in the chirography of the scribes who prepared the "copies" used in printing these texts. Shakespeare's *o* prob-

ably often looked like an *a*, and his *a* often looked like an *o*; or the scribe's *o*'s and *a*'s may sometimes have been indistinguishable. What Shakespeare intended cannot, therefore, be determined. To assume, therefore, that Q2 rather than F1 gives us Shakespeare's intention in the matter is to be guilty of bad logic and bad scholarship, especially when we remember that F1 has the authority of Heminge and Condell. If Shakespeare introduced alterations into his work after its original composition, those revisions represent his maturer judgment and are, therefore, to be preferred to what he deliberately rejected.

Had Professors Parrott and Craig given us a scholarly and modernized text which included the very sensible and judicious notes which they give us here and there, we should have hailed this book with delight. As it is, we do not like it.

THE AMERICAN WAY?

About ten days ago substantially the following telephonic conversation took place:

"Hello! I wish to speak to Dr. T."

"Speaking."

"I am the manager of the sales department of _____" (a prominent New York Bookseller).

"What can I do for you?"

"We received from you a copy of a book, a bibliography of Ben Jonson, together with a bill for \$5 and postage."

"Yes."

"You know that we expect a discount of 50 per cent on all books we sell. These books go to University libraries and we are their agents."

"There is no discount on these books; the edition printed is so small and the cost of production so high that I cannot give a discount to a dealer who does no more than trans-

mit an order he received because of my circularization of the libraries."

"Doctor, don't you know that librarians insist on getting a discount, so that they can show their donors how careful they are in spending the money given them? If you want to get \$5 for your book you must market it for \$7.50."

"But, my dear sir, at \$7.50 I can't expect to dispose of as many copies as at \$5, and I do not think it fair to soak a library \$7.50 for a book which I think should sell for \$5."

"Well, doctor, that's the American way."

Will someone be good enough to inform us whether this is really the American way of doing business? Or is it a "racket" in which certain librarians cheat the library chest by dividing the commission with the book-seller? An investigation is in order.

CONTRIBUTED

To the Editor:

Some time ago I became convinced that a passage in Shakspeare's "Macbeth" does not mean what both stage and editorial presentations make it mean. The passage is at the beginning of Act II. Banquo and his son, Fleance, are shown in "A Court in Macbeth's Castle."

Banquo: How goes the night, boy?

Fleance: The moon is down; I have not heard the clock.

Banquo: And she goes down at twelve.

Fleance: I take't 'tis later, sir.

Banquo: Hold, take my sword. There's husbandry in heaven!

Their candles are all out. Take thee that, too . . ."

In commenting upon "Take thee that, too," all the editors to whom I have had access (in Furness's Variorum edition and many later editions), if they commented upon this passage at all, have suggested for a stage direction, or at least in a note for explanatory business, that Banquo hands

Fleance a dagger or some other part of his armor. In a recent stage performance of the play Banquo took off his huge cloak and piled it upon the boy's outstretched arm. But there was no accompanying business to indicate a reason for this. It seemed totally uncalled for, except as one way of following the text. The same thought applied to Banquo's giving his sword to Fleance. Why does he give his sword to Fleance? Almost immediately his tense "Give me my sword," line 10; and then his nervous "Who's there?" indicate that in that time and place his arms were worn for expected service.

It seems to me that there is a pun on the word, *take*, used first by Fleance and then twice by Banquo, and with a slightly different shade of meaning each time. If I am correct in this the pun would offer a possible motivation for Banquo's giving the boy his sword. The real point of the "There's husbandry (thrift) in heaven" pun would then be the reference of *that*, in "Take thee that, too." Banquo, referring to the sky, has said, "There's husbandry (thrift) in heaven; their candles are all out." Then, to his son, he adds, "Take thee that, too." Does he not mean, as any other father would mean, "Take (or accept) that lesson on thrift"?

WM. STAPLETON LONG.

*State Teachers College,
East Radford, Va.*

REGRETS

The editor hereby expresses his great regret that inadvertently Professor Shaaber's little essay on a passage in *1 Henry IV* was printed in our last issue before it had been proofread. The dozen or so printer's errors are being corrected in the reprints.

SHAKSPERE ILLUSTRATED

The illustration of Shakspeare's plays is not an easy matter. It needs no ghost come from the grave to tell us this. The would-be illustrator must saturate himself with the play, the emotional quality of the scene and the situation, the form and pressure of the characters (their age, their nationality, their physique, their race), the stage-setting or environment, and the costuming. Researches in psychology, archaeology, history, architecture, music, folklore, etc., are almost inevitably necessary before the artist may venture to pictorialize what Shakspeare has put into words. But these studies may, after all, result in nothing of the slightest value or interest if the artist is not also a poet. A real illustrator of Shakspeare must also be a great actor. In other words, he must be capable of feeling and interpreting Shakspeare's dreams, the products of his fantasy.

Mr. Edward A. Wilson, one of America's foremost illustrators, is such an artist. He has recently completed a series of twelve charming and exceedingly colorful paintings depicting significant moments in twelve of Shakspeare's best-known plays. The scenes chosen were picked from a list which

had been prepared by Professor Lyman Kittredge and include *The Taming of the Shrew* (III, ii), *Hamlet* (I, v), *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (II, i), *Julius Caesar* (II, ii), *King Lear* (V, iii), *Richard III*, (II, i), *1 Henry IV* (II, iv), *As You Like It* (III, ii), *Macbeth* (I, iii), *Twelfth Night* (II, iii), *Romeo and Juliet* (I, v), and—in our opinion the best of the series—*Anthony and Cleopatra* (I, iii).

The Ketterlinus Litho Manufacturing Company of Philadelphia have beautifully reproduced Mr. Wilson's paintings in twelve full color prints (17¾ x 18¼ inches each, on fine plate paper, with wide margins) and are planning to market them in an attractive portfolio for one dollar for the set. The pictures will be loose in the portfolio so that as many of them may be framed as the owner may desire.

Lovers and teachers of Shakspeare, and those who love interesting and beautiful pictures, alive and colorful, are advised not to fail to order a set when they receive the publisher's circular. To enable our readers to judge whether our enthusiasm is justified we shall print a reduced (!) facsimile in colors in our next issue.

October, 1938

Vol. 13, No. 4

The Shakespeare Association Bulletin



Hamlet's "To Be or Not to Be" Soliloquy

Proverbs and Sententiae in the Plays of Shakspeare
[Concluded]

The New Cambridge Shakspeare and
"The Two Gentlemen of Verona"
[Continued]

Who Is "Silvia?"—and Other Problems in the
Greene-Shakspeare Relationship

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The Shakespeare Association of America aims to unite all the lovers of the poet and to encourage and enlarge the widespread interest in his works. It will serve as a means of communication in the Shakesperian world, reporting what is being done in his honor or service, whether on the stage or in the schoolroom, in club or in university. Its purpose includes co-operation in every enterprise that will be helpful to a knowledge of the man and his works, whether scholarly, educational, or theatrical.

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HAMLET'S "TO BE OR NOT TO BE" SOLILOQUY

By N. B. ALLEN

THOUGH there have been many interpretations of various lines in Hamlet's "To be or not to be" soliloquy, the passage as a whole has divided scholars into two main groups. One takes the view that Hamlet is meditating on suicide; the other that he is thinking about struggling with the wrongs of life.

The disagreement centers on the word "opposing" in the fifth line of the soliloquy. Hamlet says:

" . . . to take arms against a sea of troubles
And by opposing end them. To die; to sleep."

It appears to one group that "opposing" is figurative and means "committing suicide"; and that "To die" is in apposition with "end." The other group believes that "opposing" indicates a literal conflict to end our troubles; and that "To die" follows in Hamlet's thought¹ because death usually comes to one who wages such a conflict. At least, death would be likely to overtake Hamlet, they claim, if he killed his uncle.²

Judging merely by the articles which have been written on the meaning of the soliloquy, one might suppose that the "active resistance" interpretation is more widely accepted. It seems certain, however, that a considerable majority of scholars have assumed that Hamlet is speaking of suicide, but have felt that the fact needs no demonstration.³

¹Samuel Johnson, the most famous member of this group, observes in his note on the passage that it is "connected rather in the speaker's mind, than on his tongue."

²Of course, the two groups differ on the interpretation of the first line of the soliloquy as well, one holding that "To be or not to be" means "To live or to die," the other that it means, "Is my present project of active resistance to wrong to be or not to be?" as Edward Dowden (*Hamlet*, "The Arden Shakespeare" [London, 1899], p. 99) states it. But the words themselves give no clue as to which explanation is correct, and their interpretation, therefore, hinges on the meaning of the later lines.

The first line has also been explained in other ways. Johnson differs from most of those who agree with him about the meaning of the soliloquy as a whole and says that Hamlet here questions whether or not we are to exist after death. George MacDonald (*The Tragedy of Hamlet* [London, 1885], p. 124), regards the words as the close of a preceding train of thought, not to be connected with what follows.

³Among those who have said that Hamlet is speaking of suicide, or who have revealed in the course of a discussion of the play that such is their assumption, are the following: William Guthrie, *An Essay upon English Tragedy* (London, 1747?), pp. 25-26; Henry MacKenzie, *The Mirror* (Edinburgh) XCIX (April 18, 1780), 2d American edition (Philadelphia, 1793), II, 205; Edmund Malone, *The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare* (London, 1790), IX, 286; Thomas Caldecott (ed.),

Hamlet (London, 1832), p. 73; James Russell Lowell, "Shakespeare Once More," *The North American Review*, CVI (1868), p. 667; Gustav Rümelin, *Shakespeare-studien*, 2d edition (Stuttgart, 1874), pp. 105 and 112n.; Rev. Charles E. Moberley (ed.), *Hamlet* (London, 1873), p. 63; Th. Gessner, "Ein Beitrag zum Verständniss Shakespeares," *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft* (1885), p. 281; F. J. Furnivall, *The New Shakespeare Society's Transactions*, Series I (1887-1892, pt. III), pp. 48-52; Robert Browning, *ibid.*, p. 48; Franz Servaez, "Hamlet-Probleme," *Magazin für Litteratur*, LXII (1893), p. 396; Richard Löning, *Die Hamlet-Tragödie Shakespeares* (Stuttgart, 1893), p. 151; Herman Tuerck, *Der Geniale Mensch* (1896), translation (London, 1914), p. 110; A. C. Bradley, *Shakespearean Tragedy*, 2d edition (London, 1905), p. 98n.; M. L. Arnold, "To be or not to be,—Again," *Poet-Love*, XXVII (1916), p. 86; Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, *Notes on Shakespeare's Workmanship* (New York, 1917), p. 172; E. E. Stoll, "Hamlet: An Historical and Comparative Study," *Research Publications of the University of Minnesota*, VIII (1919), p. 37; Joseph Quincey Adams, "Commentary" in his edition of *Hamlet* (New York, 1920), II, 251; H. H. Furness, *Letters*, 2 vols. (New York, 1922), II, 257; A. J. A. Waldock, *Hamlet, A Study in Critical Method* (Cambridge, England, 1931), p. 88; Allardyce Nicoll, *Studies in Shakespeare* (London, 1931), p. 50; J. Dover Wilson (ed.), *Hamlet* (Cambridge, England, 1936), p. 190; Harley Granville-Barker, *Prefaces to Shakespeare, Third Series* (London, 1937), p. 322.

Such a list, however, gives an inadequate idea of the currency of the suicide interpretation. The very fact that most editors have no note on the meaning of the soliloquy as a whole probably indicates that they do not consider the other explanation worth refuting. Most university professors in America assume that suicide is meant. Professors O. J. Campbell of Columbia, Hardin Craig of Stanford University, T. M. Parrot of Princeton, and George Lyman Kittredge, for example, all consider that there is no doubt that Hamlet is discussing suicide. (Rightly.—Ed.).

In view of the zeal and energy of the minority, who have argued their case most eloquently from the time of Johnson to the present,⁴ it is perhaps necessary, before entering on a

⁴Samuel Johnson first excluded the idea of suicide from the opening lines of the soliloquy in a paraphrase of the passage which he included in the notes to his edition of the plays. Some of those who have followed him are: F. W. Ziegler, *Hamlets Charakter nach Psychologischen und Physiologischen Grundsätzen* (Wien, 1803), p. 78; Johann Ludwig Tieck, *Dramaturgische Blätter* (1824), included in *Kritische Schriften* (Leipzig, 1852), III, 282-283; Julius L. Klein, *Berliner Modenspiegel*, XV (1846) No. 24; Hermann Freiherr Von Friesen, *Briefe über Shakespeares Hamlet* (Leipzig, 1864), pp. 234-235; George H. Miles, *A Review of Hamlet Hamlet* (Baltimore, 1870), p. 41; Thomas Tyler, *The Philosophy of "Hamlet"* (London, 1874), pp. 27-28; Karl Werder, *Vorlesungen über Shakespeares Hamlet* (Berlin, 1875), pp. 38-39; Edward Vining, *The Mystery of Hamlet* (Philadelphia, 1881), p. 51; George MacDonald, *The Tragedy of Hamlet* (London, 1885), p. 124; F. B. Gilchrist, *The True Story of Hamlet and Ophelia* (Boston, 1889), p. 147; Edward Dowden (ed.), *Hamlet, "The Arden Shakespeare"* (London, 1889), p. 99; William B. Wright, "Hamlet," *The Atlantic Monthly*, LXXXIX (1902), pp. 686-595; W. F. Tambllyn, "Hamlet's Soliloquy," *The Nation* (New York), LXXV (1902), p. 265; Charlton M. Lewis, *The Genesis of Hamlet* (New York, 1907), p. 100; Edward B. Bronson, "'To be or not to be?' What was the Question?," *The Outlook*, CVII (1914), pp. 922-925; Gustav Mai-Rodegg, *Hamlet-Entdeckungen eines Schauspielers* (Berlin, 1917), pp. 61 and 64; Simon A. Blackmore, *The Riddles of Hamlet and the Newest Answers* (Boston, 1917), p. 239; J. M. Murray, "To be or not to be?," *Adelphi*, IV (1926), pp. 341-349; Irving T. Richards, "The Meaning of Hamlet's Soliloquy," *PMLA*, XLVIII (1933), pp. 741-766; Mona Morgan, *Hamlet the Dane* (Philadelphia, 1936), pp. 35-36.

Most of these critics have agreed that the idea of suicide enters the soliloquy in the middle, but Tieck, Von Friesen, MacDonald, Wright, Bronson, and Richards exclude it even here. Richards, who has given the most complete exposition of this point of view, observes (*op. cit.*, pp. 752-753) that whether or no Johnson found any consideration of suicide in the middle of the soliloquy is at least open to question, in view of the generality of the expressions he uses in his paraphrase.

discussion of the soliloquy, to examine their claims, and to show why the arguments which the majority must have perceived are overwhelmingly more convincing. Strange as it seems, this has apparently never been done.

II

1. In the first place, Hamlet is speaking about mankind in general, not about himself. For "slings and arrows of outrageous fortune" and "the thousand natural shocks that flesh is heir to" do not characterize Hamlet's great worries, his mother's incest and how to avenge his uncle's murder of his father.⁵ This universality of expression is in itself a strong indication that suicide and not a struggle against various wrongs is indicated. Hamlet might well end his peculiar troubles by killing his uncle, but the diversified misfortunes which beset the typical man, this "sea of troubles," cannot be ended by opposition in this literal sense. Only when "opposing" is taken in the figurative sense of "committing suicide" can it end such various ills.

Moreover, the expression must be given this figurative sense if the whole line

"And by opposing end them. To die, to sleep"

is to have continuity.⁶ Why should death follow opposition? If the struggle indicated were between Hamlet and Claudius, Hamlet might speak of his own death as naturally resulting from his revenge, either at once or later.⁷ But it is surely not natural to assume that the typical man is bound (or even likely) to die if he attacks his troubles, especially since "slings and arrows" and a "sea" indicate multifarious minor evils rather than powerful antagonists. If "opposing" means "committing suicide," however, the continuity of the line is at once clear.⁸

⁵A few lines farther on it is even clearer that he is referring to *homo sapiens* rather than to himself.

⁶Nearly all critics on both sides of the question assume such continuity. For a discussion of the unlikely possibility that the three and a half lines beginning "Whether 'tis nobler" and ending with "And by opposing end them" are parenthetical, see F. J. Furnivall's discussion of the soliloquy (*op. cit.*, pp. 48-50).

⁷Even if this were the case it is doubtful that his own death would occur to Hamlet as being so likely a result as Irving T. Richards thinks. He says (*op. cit.*, pp. 750-751), "(Claudius') death would inevitably have precipitated Hamlet's end."

⁸Critics who exclude suicide from the soliloquy play hide-and-seek with Hamlet's words. When explaining the continuity of line 5 they argue as if Hamlet were speaking of himself. But they recognize that the soliloquy is about mankind when it comes to explaining the universality of the ills mentioned.

2. The word "nobler" in the second line of the soliloquy also supports the suicide explanation. According to dissenting critics, Hamlet is wondering whether it is nobler to combat misfortunes or to give in to them; but if this is his meaning, the answer to the problem is so obvious that the problem itself is not worth proposing. Not only Hamlet but everyone else would assume without question that taking arms in this sense is nobler than suffering.⁹ If we accept the suicide interpretation, however, the question has point. For there is some dignity in suffering when suicide is the only way out, and suicide, too, is sometimes thought to be noble, especially in pagan passages like this.¹⁰ Thus, Brutus, run through by his own sword, is called "the noblest Roman of them all."¹¹

3. The connection between "end" in line 4 and "to say we end" in line 5 is important. The force of "to say" in the second of these phrases has not been always observed. Apparently Hamlet is declaring, "The question is whether by opposing we should end our troubles . . . *which is to say* that by a sleep we end them." If so, the first "end" must refer to our death, since all critics agree that the second "end" does so.¹²

4. The line

"When we have shuffled off this mortal coil"

indicates that Hamlet is referring to suicide. According to The New English Dictionary "Shuffle off" in Shakespeare's time meant "get rid of or evade (something difficult, arduous, or irksome) in a perfunctory or unsatisfactory manner, . . . dispose of evasively." Now, if we are killed by our adversaries, we may get rid of something difficult, arduous, or irksome, but we do not do so evasively. Only in death by suicide may we be said to evade difficulties.¹³

⁹Even if Hamlet were speaking about his revenge, it is clear from his other soliloquies that there could be no question in his mind as to whether or not revenge is nobler than forbearance.

¹⁰See below, p. 15.

¹¹*Julius Caesar*, V, 5, 68.

¹²This explanation indicates, of course, that

"The heart-ache and the thousand natural shocks
That flesh is heir to"

is to Hamlet a paraphrase of "a sea of troubles."

¹³Many critics, several of whom are quoted in Furness's *Variorum*, explain "mortal coil" as the body, supposing that Hamlet is thinking of the body as being wound about the soul like a rope. But the commoner explanation is that given in *The New English Dictionary* and by C. T. Onions in *A Shakespeare Glossary* (Oxford, 1922): "bustle and turmoil of this mortal life." This meaning, suggested by many early

critics, is defended by Dowden in his edition of *Hamlet* (London, 1899). He points out that "coil" is used in the sense of "trouble" or "turmoil" several times by Shakspeare, in *The Tempest*, I, 2, 207, for instance. And Dowden adds, "He nowhere uses it in the sense of concentric rings, nor does the *New English Dictionary* give an example earlier than 1627. The notion that "mortal coil" means the body encircling the soul may be set aside."

Another reason for accepting the explanation that Dowden defends is that other phrases in the soliloquy express the idea that death is a release from such ills as might be expressed by "bustle" or "turmoil." That is, "shuffle(d) off this mortal coil" is a paraphrase of "end / The heart-ache and the thousand natural shocks / that flesh is heir to," and of "take arms against a sea of troubles." (See above, note 12).

It is interesting to note that, though Benjamin Heath (*A Revival of Shakspeare's Text* [London, 1765], p. 337) is the earliest critic mentioned in the *Variorum* note who construes "mortal coil" as "body," he was anticipated by Voltaire. In his letter, "Sur la Tragédie" (1733?), the latter translates the phrase "enveloppe mortelle."

5. If it were not fear of the after life, asks Hamlet, who would bear the various ills of life

"When he himself might his quietus make
With a bare bodkin?"

The majority even of those critics who have excluded the idea of suicide from the earlier part of the soliloquy admit that it enters here. In reply to the stubborn few who will not even make this admission,¹⁴ however, it is perhaps worth while to insist again on the generality of the soliloquy and on the variety of the ills that mankind is represented as suffering. "Quietus" meant to Shakspeare "a settling of accounts." If Hamlet were speaking of himself and of his adversary Claudius, "a settling of accounts" with a bare bodkin might very well refer to Hamlet's killing him, but the typical man can settle all the various accounts indicated by

"the whips and scorns of time,
Th' oppressor's wrong, the proud man's contumely,
The pangs of dispriz'd love, the law's delay,
The insolence of office, and the spurns
That patient merit of th' unworthy takes"

only by plunging the bodkin into his own bosom.¹⁵

6. There is further proof to be urged against the few who maintain that even the middle part of the soliloquy contains

¹⁴See above, note 4, second paragraph.

¹⁵Irving T. Richards (*op. cit.*, p. 754n.) assumes that those who believe that Hamlet is here speaking of suicide must think that "quietus" always meant "death" as it does today and be ignorant of its early legal meaning. Malone, however, shows in his note that he realizes what the word's significance was in Shakspeare's time. He supposes it to be used merely figuratively here. And that is the usual supposition. Even Richards does not believe that Hamlet is thinking of paying money to Claudius. He believes that "quietus" is used figuratively to express revenge. Malone and others believe that it is being used figuratively to express *death*. Certainly when we die we are often said to clear all accounts.

no reference to suicide. Hamlet declares that our ignorance about the next world.

"... makes us rather bear those ills we have
Than fly to others that we know not of."

"Fly" here means "flee." It would be strange to say that those who die fighting against their adversaries or who are put to death as a punishment for such action flee their ills. To suicides, on the other hand, the expression is naturally applied.¹⁶

7. In the Q1 version of *Hamlet* the second, third and fourth lines and the first half of the fifth line of the soliloquy are omitted. The result is that if we consider this version alone it is impossible to find a reference to the conflict against wrong which Johnson and his followers regard as the central thought of the soliloquy.¹⁷ Of course, this does not indicate that the lines ever were absent from the passage as Shakspeare wrote it; their omission is due, no doubt, to the reporter.¹⁸ It does, however, indicate that the reporter thought suicide was meant. Now in view of his confused and garbled account of various parts of the play, of many of

¹⁶Those who declare that Hamlet says nothing about suicide make a great deal of the fact that the last six lines of the soliloquy obviously are not concerned with it. See, for instance, F. W. Ziegler (*op. cit.*, p. 80) and others quoted by Richards (*op. cit.*, p. 747n). Hamlet, they insist, could not speak of suicide as an enterprise "of great pith and moment." In making this point, however, they are wasting their labor, for it is generally agreed to. Even the critics whom Ziegler and Richards are opposing recognize that here Hamlet is referring, not to suicide, but to various important plans which we often find ourselves unable to carry out—just as we are unable to carry out our plans for suicide—because we realize or think too long about their possible disadvantages. See A. C. Bradley, *op. cit.*, p. 98n.

It should be observed, however, that even here Hamlet says nothing about his enterprise against the King. Here as elsewhere he is speaking of mankind in general.

¹⁷Charlton M. Lewis (*op. cit.*, p. 100) makes this observation.

¹⁸If the omission of these lines in Q1 indicated that Shakspeare did not have them in the soliloquy as originally written, this would prove even more conclusively that he meant Hamlet to be speaking of suicide. But it seems likely that the differences between Q1 and Q2 in general are largely due to a reporter. E. K. Chambers (*William Shakespeare, A Study of Facts and Problems*, [Oxford, 1930], I, 412) believes that Q2 "substantially represents the original play as written once and for all by Shakespeare," and that Q1 is "based upon derivatives from that text." Of practically the same opinion are Gustav Tanzer ("The First and Second Quartos and the First Folio of 'Hamlet': Their Relation to Each Other," *The New Shakespeare Society's Transactions, Part I* [1880-1882], pp. 109-197); H. D. Gray ("The First Quarto of *Hamlet*," *MLR*, X [1915], pp. 171-180); and R. C. Rhodes (*Shakespeare's First Folio* [Oxford, 1923], pp. 72-81. Other authorities do not go so far as this, but nearly all of them agree that most of the differences between Q1 and Q2 are due to mutilation. See Sir Sidney Lee, *A Life of William Shakespeare* (New York, 1916), p. 36; E. E. Stoll, *op. cit.*, Chapter III; Joseph Quincey Adams, *op. cit.*, pp. 335-356; and Harley Granville-Barker, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-202. Granville-Barker cites the Q1 soliloquy as an example of a passage whose difference from the Q2 form is obviously due to mutilation.

the details of this soliloquy, indeed, this man cannot be considered an altogether satisfactory witness—far from it. Nevertheless, it is commonly believed that he saw the play given by Shakspeare's own actors; and, though he is often confused about details, his general impressions are elsewhere usually correct.

The omission of the three and a half lines is not the only indication that the person who gave us Q1 thought suicide was the main idea of the soliloquy. His interpolation of a phrase that seems to have been suggested by Hamlet's reference to suicide in his first soliloquy is also significant. That is,

"And borne before an everlasting Judge"

in Q1 is apparently a reminiscence of

"Or that the Everlasting had not fix'd
His canon 'gainst self slaughter."¹⁹

III

It is not surprising for a melancholy character like Hamlet to reveal an interest in the subject of suicide,²⁰ but it is surprising for him to speak of it as he does in this soliloquy. For most of the passage has no specific connection with Hamlet at all. As has already been observed,²³ he speaks of mankind rather than of himself.

How is such generalizing to be explained? In all his other soliloquies Hamlet is profoundly, even abnormally, engrossed in his own problems, and is specific about these problems, using the first person and speaking of my mother,²² "mine uncle,"²³ "this player here,"²⁴ "my father,"²⁵ "a father kill'd, a mother stain'd."²⁸ In this solil-

¹⁹These lines are omitted from the first soliloquy in Q1.

²⁰I. T. Richards (*op. cit.*, p. 758) insists that it is out of keeping with Hamlet's character for him to speak of suicide, and uses this contention as an argument against the suicide interpretation. Many earlier critics, however, have shown that Hamlet is of the "melancholy type" popular in the dramas of the opening years of the seventeenth century and that an interest in suicide is characteristic of that type. See Richard Löning, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-194; E. E. Stoll, "Shakspeare, Marston, and the Malcontent Type," *Modern Philology*, III (January, 1906), pp. 1-23; and Levin L. Schücking, *Character Problems in Shakespeare's Plays* (New York, 1922), pp. 153-171).

²¹See above.

²²I, 2, 140.

²³I, 2, 151.

²⁴II, 2, 577.

²⁵II, 2, 624.

²⁶IV, 4, 57.

oquy he does not refer to any character in the play. He does not even mention incest, or murder, or revenge.

In other words, Shakspeare has here departed from the recognized Elizabethan dramatic principle of revelation in soliloquy.²⁷ He has chosen to have Hamlet give us a little essay on suicide which contains no thought clearly connected with Hamlet's own interests.²⁸

But more important than this is the fact that it contains many thoughts strikingly out of keeping with Hamlet's own background. In speaking of the ills of life Hamlet chooses not merely such illustrations as fit the average man as well as himself; he refers to ills which he as a prince cannot have suffered. "The law's delay" and "the spurns that patient merit of the unworthy takes" are examples.²⁹

Equally surprising is the pagan nature of the soliloquy. During the rest of the play Hamlet's speeches, like those of the other characters, are full of Christian ideas. In Act I he speaks of the Everlasting's "canon 'gainst self slaughter"³⁰ and of the immortality of his own soul.³¹ He is told by the ghost not to punish his mother, but to "leave her to heaven;"³² and it is to avoid sending Claudius there that he spares him when he finds him praying.³³ In the soliloquy, however, he enunciates a philosophy of agnosticism that takes no account of God, and instead of referring to heaven he speaks of

". . . something after death,
The undiscover'd country from whose bourn
No traveller returns."

²⁷E. E. Stoll ("Hamlet and Iago," *Anniversary Papers by Colleagues and Pupils of George Lyman Kittredge* [Boston, 1915], p. 261) shows that Shakspeare's soliloquies usually have much the same function as prologues and choruses. That is, they are "for information."

²⁸See Malone's note on the soliloquy; also Victor Hugo, Introduction to *Oeuvres complètes de Shakspeare* (Paris, 1873), p. 97; Lorenz Morsbach, *Der Weg zu Shakspeare und das Hamletdrama. Eine Umkehr* (Halle a. S., 1922), p. 91; George Brandes, *William Shakspeare* (1 vol., London, 1926), p. 365; J. Dover Wilson, *What Happens in Hamlet* (New York, 1935), p. 127.

²⁹Samuel Johnson has carefully observed in his note on the Soliloquy that in his enumeration of miseries Hamlet "forgets, whether properly or not, that he is a prince, and mentions many evils to which inferior stations are exposed."

³⁰1, 2, 132.

³¹1, 4, 66-67:

"And for my soul, what can it do to that
Being a thing immortal as itself?"

³²1, 5, 86.

³³III, 3, 77-78.

³⁴*Shakspeare Restored* (London, 1726), p. 83.

It is this part of the soliloquy which has caused most discussion; for Hamlet himself has recently (in I, 5) talked with a returned traveler, the ghost of his father. The lines are no more consistent with Hamlet's character than is the rest of the soliloquy, but the striking nature of the contradiction they contain has caused many critics to try to explain them. The casuistry of their arguments indicates how impossible their task is. Theobald³⁴ tries to abolish the difficulty by showing that the Ghost comes only from purgatory, not from the last and eternal residence of souls. Farmer³⁵ insists that the Ghost is not a traveller to Hamlet, since in Shakspeare's time the idea of a traveller was of a person who gave an account of his adventures. J. M. Robertson³⁶ is able to make sense out of the passage only by supposing that it is misplaced and "properly would come before the ghost scene." J. M. Murray³⁷ is forced to assume that Hamlet has forgotten the Ghost, though Hamlet has shown that he remembers it in his second soliloquy,³⁸ and though he is to refer to it again before its second appearance to him.³⁹ Such critics fail to notice that the lines in question are out of harmony with the play simply because they are in harmony with the pagan nature of the whole soliloquy.⁴⁰

These inconsistencies and contradictions, which set the soliloquy off from the rest of *Hamlet*, have been especially noted by the Shakspeare skeptics. As early as 1866 Gustav

³⁵Farmer's note is in the Johnson and Steevens edition of Shakspeare (London, 1773), vol. X, appendix II.

³⁶*The Problem of Hamlet* (London, 1917), p. 55.

³⁷"To be or not to be?" *Adelphi*, IV (December, 1926), p. 345. J. Dover Wilson (*What Happens in Hamlet* [New York, 1935], p. 74) says that Hamlet has either forgotten about the Ghost, or "for the time at any rate given up the idea that it may have been his father's spirit."

Schücking (*op. cit.*, pp. 117-118) quotes the explanations of the lines which several of the German critics give: G. Gervinus (*Shakspeare*, 3te Auflage [Leipzig, 1862], III, 314), defends Hamlet against inconsistency by claiming that Shakspeare's ghosts are not real ghosts, but only the visibly embodied figments of a strong imagination. F. T. Vischer (*Kritische Gänge*, Neue Folge [Stuttgart, 1861], I, 136) insists that Hamlet forgets the Ghost, such a lapse of memory being due to an instinctive dread of allowing his mind to dwell on that undiscovered country. Kuno Fischer (*Shakspeares Hamlet* [Heidelberg, 1896], pp. 134 ff.) declares that Hamlet is right in his statement, because only the spirit of Hamlet's father has returned, not his body. Schücking observes that these "fantastical and abstruse speculations" are "almost humiliating."

³⁸II, 2, 627-628.

³⁹III, 297-298.

⁴⁰J. Dover Wilson (*What Happens in Hamlet*, Appendix B) devotes several pages to the question whether Ophelia's funeral ceremonies are Anglican or Catholic, but says nothing about the religious philosophy of the soliloquy.

Rümelin⁴¹ summarized them in a footnote and decided that "in the soliloquy it is the poet that is speaking." E. E. Stoll expressed the same idea, that Hamlet has been forgotten⁴² and that Shakspeare is speaking in his own person.⁴³

As far as it goes this explanation is satisfactory. It explains both the difficulties discussed above: the inconsistency of the religious philosophy of the soliloquy with that of Hamlet's speeches elsewhere in the play, and the fact that the ills referred to are such as a man of the middle classes rather than a prince might suffer. It does not, however, go far enough. It does not explain *why* Shakspeare forgot Hamlet while writing the soliloquy.⁴⁴ Shakspeare usually put himself imaginatively into the places of his characters when writing their speeches. Why did he so completely fail to do so here?

The only satisfactory answer is that Shakspeare wrote the soliloquy, not for *Hamlet*, but as a separate lyrical unit. Then while writing or revising the play he decided to insert⁴⁵ it, since it fitted Hamlet's mood even though it was inconsistent with details of his character.

To make an insertion in a play was not extraordinary

⁴¹*Shakespearestudien*, 2d edition (Stuttgart, 1874), p. 111n. Rümelin's original words were: "Offenbar spricht im Monologe . . . der Dichter selbst."

⁴²"Hamlet and Iago," *Anniversary Papers by Colleagues and Pupils of George Lyman Kittredge* (Boston, 1913), p. 270.

⁴³"Hamlet: An Historical and Comparative Study," *Research Publications of the University of Minnesota*, VIII (1919), p. 35.

⁴⁴Rümelin (*op. cit.*, pp. 103-112) explains very satisfactorily why the soliloquy sounds like Shakspeare, but not why it sounds like Hamlet. He believes that Shakspeare used Hamlet to give poetical expression to his own views of life; and that Hamlet's speech of self characterization to Rosencranz and Guildenstern (II, 2, 306-324), his advice to the players (III, 2, 1-50), his philosophy in the graveyard (V, I, 83-121), and the famous soliloquy all sound like Shakspeare himself. But, except for the soliloquy, these passages are not out of harmony with Hamlet's character. In none of them does Hamlet speak as if he were not a prince and a Christian—as he does in the soliloquy. And his failure to refer to his own peculiar problems in these other passages is not surprising either; for they are not soliloquies, and he is not free in them to unburden his heart.

As for Stoll, he does not support his statement. Certainly the soliloquy is not to be explained as Stoll explains other passages whose inconsistencies can be shown to have a dramatic purpose. Hamlet's self-abasing statements that he is a coward (II, 2, 604; and IV, 4, 44), for instance, are said by Stoll ("Hamlet and Iago," p. 264) to be in contradiction to his character as revealed in action, but they are necessary, he explains, because Shakspeare can't let Hamlet stop the play by killing Claudius at once, and some reason must be given for his failure to do so. The contradictions in this soliloquy have no such excuse.

⁴⁵Schücking (*op. cit.*, p. 96) calls certain passages which are not altogether in character "inserted episodes." Though his discussion shows that he does not think of these passages as having been conceived separately from their plays, some of the ones he treats seem to have had such an origin.

in Shakspeare's time. Ben Jonson made several in Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, for instance; and it is generally believed by critics that the speeches of Hecate in *Macbeth* were inserted by Middleton.⁴⁶ Of course, the Hecate speeches may have been put in after Shakspeare's retirement or death, but Shakspeare shows that the idea of an insertion was not foreign to him by representing Hamlet as making one in *The Murder of Gonzago*.⁴⁷ Most important, there is textual evidence of insertions by Shakspeare himself in his own plays. The most striking examples are Theseus' speech about the lunatic, the lover, and the poet from *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, V, 1, and Mercutio's Queen Mab speech from *Romeo and Juliet*, I, 4, both of which indicate by the mislining of their verse in the quarto editions⁴⁸ that they were inserted in the margins of their manuscripts.⁴⁹

⁴⁶See E. K. Chambers, *op. cit.*, I, 472-473.

⁴⁷*Hamlet*, II, 2, 568.

⁴⁸Mercutio's speech is printed as blank verse in Q1 of *Romeo and Juliet*, but that is explained by its having been taken down by a reporter. The mislining occurs in the Fisher Quarto of 1600, which was evidently printed from manuscript.

⁴⁹See the note on Theseus' speech in the edition of *A Midsummer-Night's Dream*, by J. Dover Wilson and Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch (Cambridge, England, 1924), pp. 80-86; and J. Dover Wilson and A. W. Pollard, "The 'Stolne and Surreptitious' Shakesperian Texts. 'Romeo and Juliet,' 1597," *Times Literary Supplement*, August 15, 1919, p. 434.

The supposition is that when Shakspeare added these passages to the margins of the manuscripts he had to break up the blank verse because of lack of room, with the result that the typesetters could not follow it. The one who set up Mercutio's speech was so confused that he gave up trying to solve the problem and arranged the passage like prose. The one who set up Theseus' speech tried to reform the lines of blank verse, but failed.

Apparently the inserted portion of the latter passage begins with "Lovers and madmen" of line 4 of the scene and ends with "And a name" in line 16. It is true that lines 4, 8, 9, and 10 are not mislined, but this is most likely due to chance. Wilson assumes that only the mislined lines were added and that before the insertion the speech consisted of lines 2-4, 8-10, and from "Such" in line 16 to the end. But line 8 does not follow line 4 naturally. The order in which the madman and the lover are treated in lines 8-10 and the fact that the words are singular and not plural make it almost certain that line 8 was written to follow line 7 and that the inserted material was therefore in a solid block. (The numbering of the lines referred to above follows the Fisher Quarto, not modern editions.)

In discussing Mercutio's speech, G. Hjort ("The Good and the Bad Quartos of *Romeo and Juliet*," *MLR* XXI [1926] pp. 140-146) advances the theory that the prose form of the passage may result from this part of the play's having been set up from a corrected page of Q1, the pirated quarto. She thinks that it was the corrections of the errors in Q1 that made the blank verse too difficult for the printer. This theory does not explain the errorless lineation of Mercutio's last three lines, which, according to Wilson's and Pollard's theory, are not part of the insertion. If corrections of Q1 caused the body of the speech to be printed as prose, these lines should be so printed, too, for they are as different from Q1 as is the rest. The explanation of B. A. P. van Dam ("Did Shakespeare Revise *Romeo and Juliet*?" *Anglia*, LI [1927] p. 59) is no more satisfactory than that of Hjort. Like Hjort, van Dam believes that the speech was set up from a corrected page of Q1, but he assumes that it was first set up as blank verse. After having proceeded some distance farther, however, the printer discovered that he had overlooked the three lines

omitted from Q1 and added from the prompt copy to the margin. The lines van Dam refers to begin, "Her Chariot is an emptie Hazel nut." In order to avoid shifting all he had set up subsequent to the speech, the printer made room for the three last lines by changing the blank verse part of the passage to prose, van Dam thinks. The difficulty with this explanation is that the part of the speech in question has thirty-five lines when set up as blank verse, and only twenty-six after the verse has been changed to prose and the three lines inserted.

Of course, one would not expect Shakspeare to insert the soliloquy in a part with which it is so out of keeping as it is with Hamlet's. But the hypothesis that he did so is far more probable than that he wrote it expressly for Hamlet. The former procedure would at least have the advantage of economy—of making use of an effective bit of writing already produced. The latter would have none. The situation may be compared to that of a well-dressed man with a patch on his clothes. One may be unwilling to think that the gentleman would patch his clothes, but it is more natural to suppose that he did so than that he originally planned them with the patch included. Moreover, it is significant that the passage which Shakspeare inserted in *Romeo and Juliet* is likewise out of keeping with Mercutio's character.⁵⁰

If Shakspeare did insert the soliloquy already written, he must have realized that it was inconsistent with Hamlet's character. It seems almost certain that he sought to lessen the force of this inconsistency by representing the soliloquy as Hamlet's comment on a book. In Q1 he enters, as the King says, "poring vppon a booke,"⁵¹ and, though a re-

⁵⁰Schücking (*op. cit.*, pp. 98-99) says of this passage, "Does this kind of language harmonize with Mercutio's character? He is conceived as a contrast to the soft, sentimental Romeo, infinitely more matter-of-fact than he, experienced and averse to all sentiment and reverie, despising all tenderness and gentle feeling . . . His straightforwardness and honesty are expressed in a natural bluntness which in his well-meant jokes takes the form of indelicate and obscene language. . . . With all these faults he is a manly and dauntless character who betrays no weakness even in the face of the death which he knows his own love of fighting has brought upon him. But we cannot possibly believe that this character . . . should have so fine an understanding of the wonderful grace and delicacy of the Fairy Queen as is shown in this celebrated description. . . . From the lips of a Fairy Queen or an Ariel such delicate and dreamlike music of language sounds natural, but we refuse to accept it as genuine from the mouth of a bully like Mercutio."

⁵¹It is possible that Shakspeare had a definite book in mind. Several of the ideas in the soliloquy seem to have been suggested by the *De Consolatione* of Girolamo Cardano, a book which had been translated into English in 1573 as *Cardanus Comforte*. Resemblances between the soliloquy and this book were noted nearly a century ago by Francis Douce (*Illustrations of Shakespeare* [London, 1839], II, 238), and somewhat later Joseph Hunter (*New Illustrations of Shakespeare* [London, 1845], II, 243) declared that Hamlet's thoughts in the soliloquy were so similar to Cardan's that the latter's book was likely the one which Shakspeare placed in the hands of Hamlet. But the uninterested observation of the editors of the Clarendon Press edition of *Hamlet* that "these resemblances to Cardan are not very striking" apparently

arrangement of scenes in Q2 separates the King's statement from the soliloquy,⁵² it is well to remember that, as Stoll says,⁵³ "reading, . . . not the fullness of heart . . . was the original motive or occasion of his discourse."

IV

A careful inspection of Hamlet's famous soliloquy, then, proves beyond much possibility of doubt that it is concerned with suicide. This has been shown in sections I and II above. Next it has been shown that the soliloquy, while in keeping with Hamlet's mood, is out of harmony with what we know of him as he is represented elsewhere in the play. Finally the suggestion has been made that this lack of harmony may well be due to the passage's having been a separate lyrical unit which Shakspeare inserted into *Hamlet* in the same way that he inserted passages into others of his plays.

caused modern critics to ignore Hunter's theory. Recently, however, Hardin Craig ("Hamlet's Book," *Huntington Library Bulletin*, VI [November, 1934], pp. 17-37) showed that there is much more of Cardan in Hamlet's soliloquy than even Hunter realized. Craig proved that the soliloquy is like Cardan, not only in its comparison of death to a sleep, to which Douce and Hunter had called attention, but in its reference to "the undiscovered country" and in the ideas contained in the lines beginning, "Thus conscience doth make cowards of us all."

⁵²Most critics believe that this is one of the few differences between the quartos which represent changes by Shakspeare. See Stoll, "Hamlet: An Historical and Comparative Study," pp. 20-25; and Chambers, *op. cit.*, I, 417.

⁵³*Op. cit.*, p. 36. This and other statements by Professor Stoll almost seem to indicate that he may have intended to imply what has been suggested above, that the soliloquy was not originally written for the play. He discusses it, however, in connection with other passages which, though somewhat out of character, could not have been written separately from the plays in which they occur. Most important, he explains the generality of Hamlet's soliloquy by the dramatic necessity of keeping Claudius in the dark about his aims *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35). In refutation of this explanation it might be pointed out that if that had been Shakspeare's problem he could have solved it much more simply by arranging to have Hamlet speak his thoughts when alone, as he does in I, 2. Stoll here is falling into the error of oversubtlety with which he taxes other critics.

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THE NEW CAMBRIDGE SHAKSPERE AND THE TWO GENTLEMEN OF VERONA

[Continued]

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V.

IN his commentary ("Notes") on the play W lays the basis for his theoretical notions about the origin and history of the printer's "copy" for F's text of this play. We shall, therefore, give these notes careful consideration. It will also be of interest to see whether the recent "many discoveries" and the use of the Oxford dictionary—which W and Q said justified them in "auspiciating" a new text of the plays and poems—have contributed anything of value for "the ordinary lover of Shakespeare" for whom this edition is alleged to have been designed.

I, i, 22, and III, i, 120.—"How young Leander crossed the Hellespont;" . . . "a ladder quaintly made of cords . . . Would serve to scale another Hero's tower."—"These references to Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* . . . have been taken by some as proof that [this play] belongs to a later date [than 1593]. All they indicate, however, is that Shakespeare must have seen the poem in MS., a likely thing enough since there is a high probability that the two dramatists were working together at some period before 1593."

There is nothing in Shakspeare's text to justify the statement that the poet was referring to Marlowe's *Hero and Leander*. As Rolfe says, "The story [of Hero and Leander] was doubtless familiar to the poet from his schooldays." Dr. W. H. D. Rouse, the editor of *Shakespeare's Ovid*, writing in 1904, says, "It is clear that he [Shakspeare] knew Ovid in the original"—an opinion which is abundantly borne out by modern scholarly research. That Shakspeare was not influenced by Marlowe's version of the story may be inferred from the fact that he introduced an important and striking detail which is not to be found either in Marlowe, Ovid, or Musæus: Shakspeare's hero uses a ladder to climb Hero's tower; theirs does not need to do so because the amorous lady comes down to the seashore to greet her lover or opens the door for him. (The tower is introduced only for the sake of the light which is to guide Leander to the lady's bed.) Even the general reader must be edified by the logic which finds that *it is likely* that Shakspeare *must have* seen the poem in manuscript because of the *high*

probability that Marlowe and Shakspeare had been working together—logic with which anything can be proved.

I, i, 42-43.—“Yet writers say; As in the sweetest bud
The eating canker dwells, so eating love
Inhabits in the finest wits of all.”

W's note on this passage tells the reader only that F has a semicolon after “dwells”; of course, the reader infers from this (and similar notes in other parts of the book) that the matter is of importance and that it has something to do with “dramatic pointing” and the “players’ parts” which furnished F's text. W begins his “Notes” (page 83) with the statement, “All significant departures from the Folio, including important emendations, are recorded.” But the statement is not true; all significant departures from F are not recorded. Furthermore, of the few, very few, references to departures from F's punctuation most have no significance whatsoever. In the verses heading this paragraph the semicolon has no possible dramatic or grammatical significance; combined with the semicolon after “say” (augmented by W's—not F's—capital A in “As”) it may mean that Proteus is having one of his asthmatic attacks. It may be noted that W silently omits a comma after “bud.”

I, i, 54.—“Geography,” says W, “was not Shakespeare's strong point, but the confusion [about the method of journeying from Verona to Milan] may well have been aggravated by the abridger.” If Shakspeare was careless about the physiography of the countries in his stories—and we know he was—there is no reason for invoking a blundering abridger. A much more likely explanation for the geographical inconsistencies (Verona, Milan, Padua, Mantua)—if explanation is needed for the geography of a fairy tale—would be furnished by the assumption that in revising his play Shakspeare had not finally decided on the location of the different incidents. He had sense enough to consult a map when he thought it necessary to do so.

I, i, 78.—Speed says, “Why then my horns are his [Valentine's] horns, whether I wake or sleep.” W, who otherwise is so sensitive to sexual allusions in Shakspeare (finding them even where there are none), finds the point of this jest “obscure.” It should be almost needless to say that Speed, who may be a married man and lacking in a great regard for women (he calls Julia a “laced mutton”), says merely that if he belongs to Valentine his cuckoldy horns

are also Valentine's, no matter what he (Speed) may do about it.

I, I, 92.—To W it seems "remarkable" that Proteus should have sent Valentine's servant with a letter to Julia; but surely there is nothing unusual in two such intimate friends employing each other's servants occasionally.

In W's opinion, Speed—whom he calls "a poor stick, without character, [who] has not a single witty thing to say . . . may be the creation or re-creation of the adapter" (p. 82). Most readers of Shakspeare will not agree with W's estimate of Speed, "notable as a verbal wit and quibbler" (Dowden), nor would his creator. "Beshrew me, but you have a quick wit," says Proteus (I, i, 121). Speed, a foil or mate to Launce, is an integral portion of the play and cannot possibly be eliminated from it, as is sufficiently evident from II, i (the scene with Valentine), II, v (the scene with Launce), and especially III, i, 277-375. To be convinced that Speed is Shakspeare's creation one need only read his description of Valentine in love (II, i, 17-30).

I, i, 108-110.—This famous crux is printed thus in W's text:

"Proteus. But what said she? [*Speed nods*] Nod?

Speed. Ay.

Proteus. Nod-ay, why that's noddy."

Comparison with F shows that W has added to Proteus's speech the stage-direction, the word "Nod" and the question mark. Emendation is really unnecessary. When Proteus inquires about what Julia said, Speed shakes his head negatively (from side to side); Proteus imitates him with an inquiring look (as if he were saying "Is this what she did?"), and Speed, nodding, says "Ay;" This explanation, originally suggested by Dr. Nicholson, is borne out by Speed's similar behavior (nodding in answer to a question) in line 138 ("What said she?—Nothing"). Proteus could not have said "Nod?" after he had asked "what said she?"

I, i, 119-120.—W finds a quibble in "nothing" and "noddy", but this is more than doubtful: "nothing" was probably pronounced "Note-ing."

I, i, 141.—W, in common with all other editors since the publication of the second Folio, correctly reads "testerned" for F's "cesternd" in Speed's parting shot at Proteus, but he spoils it by telling his readers that "cesternd" stands for "cisternd," and couples this information with an ex-

clamation mark. Surely he does not mean to favor the adoption of "cistern'd" (enclosed in a cistern)! Proteus, punning as usual, says "testern'd me" (given me a testern) and alludes to having been quizzed (tested) by Proteus; that is why he adds, "In requital whereof, henceforth, carry your letters your selfe." "Cestern'd" is an easy misreading of "testern'd" because of the close similarity between minuscular and majuscular *c* and *t* in Elizabethan secretary script.

I, ii, 12.—W is of the opinion that the name "Mercatio" (one of Julia's wooers) is a misprint for "Mercutio." It might, of course, also be a misreading because of the similarity between *a* and *u*, but it is far more likely that "Mercatio" (suggesting the Latin word for "Merchant") is what Shakspeare intended to call the "rich" man of whose "wealth" Lucetta approved.

I, ii, 50.—W points out that F reads *Exit* at the end of this line, and he refers the reader to page 78, where he says that, except at the ends of scenes, F has exits only "at four places where it would be obvious to a compositor or copyist of average intelligence that the context demands one." But Lucetta's exit is by no means obvious, notwithstanding Julia's saying to her "Will you be gone?" Furthermore, neither a copyist nor a compositor would take the liberty to add a stage-direction, especially if the copyist were transcribing players' parts which contained so few stage-directions.

I, ii, 69-70.—W points out the quibble between "meat" and "maid," but he should also have informed the general reader that the word "meat" was generally used, as here, in the sense of "food."

I, ii, 82.—W does not explain what is meant by the tune of "Light o' love" and that, as Chappell says, it was strictly "a ballet, to be sung and danced." The general reader would also, undoubtedly, appreciate having all the double entendres ("base," "burden," "bauble") in this scene called to his attention and elucidated.

I, ii, 131.—Upon the mention of Julia's father (who does not appear in the play), W waxes sentimental and tells us that Julia "appears to be an orphan. The death of a father would add pathos to her figure; his character and the reference to his decease, which perhaps occurred in 2, 2, have,

probably, been cut by the abridger." In the following scene Antonio mentions a brother who does not appear in the play; this causes W to surmise "Another mysterious character, who possibly figured in the original." Neither of these persons is needed in the play; Shakspeare mentioned them only to make the conversation seem lifelike; there is no more reason for suspecting their participation in this comedy than for thinking that Don Alphonso and his retinue (mentioned in V, i, 3) were characters in the original version of the *Two Gentlemen* or that Marcus Luccicos played a part in *Othello*.

I, iii, 1.—The name "Panthino" occurs once in the text of this play (I, iii, 1), once in a scene-heading (I, iii), once as "Panthmo" (in I, iii, 76, and three times as "Panthion" (in two scene-headings and in the list of characters at the end of the play). To W this "suggests that 'Panthino' was the spelling in Antonio's 'part,' while 'Panthion' was that of the 'plot' material." But there is another and much more likely explanation: when Shakspeare was writing the text he wrote out the name in full—"Panthino"—but failed (after his custom) to dot the *i*; when he or his copyist was adding the scene-headings he tended to write "Panthîo" with a tilde over the *i*—a common Elizabethan practice—and a little terminal flourish on the *o*); the compositor, not knowing the name, mistook this for "Panthion." From the scene heading of I, iii, we may conclude that in the "plot material," too, the name was "Panthino."

I, iii, 24.—Though W considers "whether" "a Shakespearian spelling," he modernizes it to "whither." "Whether" was a common Elizabethan spelling and pronunciation (as is proved by the frequent contraction of the word to "where") and ought to be retained, especially if it was "a Shakespearian spelling."

I, iii, 27.—From the fact that Silvia's father is only "three" (really four) times referred to as the "duke" in the text of the play (and always so in the scene-headings and speech prefixes) and six times as the "emperor," W concludes that to Shakspeare he was the "emperor" but to the theatre and the abridger he was the "duke." But the fact probably is that Shakspeare thought of him differently on different days. We know that he was careless about such details. In the *Hamlet* of 1603 the principal characters in the "*Dumbe Show*" are a King and a Queen, but when they

become speakers (14 lines lower down on the page) they become a "*Duke*" and a "*Dutchesse*," and their speeches are so labeled; Hamlet speaks of this king as a Duke in line 249 ("*Alburtus* was the Duke's name") and as a King in line 254 (in the same speech!). In the *Hamlet* of 1604 we again have "*a King and a Queene*" in the "*Dumbe shew*," and they remain such when they enter at line 164, and their speeches are assigned to "*King*" and "*Queen*"; Hamlet, in his speech to his uncle (lines 247-254), refers to the same person as "*Duke*" in line 248 and as "*King*" in line 254. Scholars, notably Walker and Elze (cited by Dowden, page 122 of his edition of *Hamlet*), have pointed out that "*Duke*" and "*King*" are not always differentiated by Elizabethan writers. Furness cites W. S. Walker, who "shows by many instances that *king*, *duke*, and *count* were confounded in sense, and that to the poet they were one and the same." And it might be of significance to note that, as Mr. Lettsom has pointed out (in his edition of Walker's *A Critical Examination*, vol. 2, p. 281) that in *Two Gentlemen* "The emperor is peculiar to the scenes laid at Verona, the duke to those laid at [or near] Milan." There is no reason, then, for invoking an adapter who would meddle with a matter of no consequence to an Elizabethan reader or auditor. The speech prefixes probably assign the emperor's speeches to a duke because he is called "*Duke*" in the list of the "*Actors*" which appears at the end of the play. And, finally, all writers are sometimes inconsistent about minor details of infrequent occurrence.

I, iii, 45-50.—"Sweet love, sweet lines, sweet life— . . . O heavenly Julia. . . ." To W the "broken lines at the beginning and end of this speech [by Proteus] suggest abridgement." Of course, this is the merest assumption on W's part; short lines—especially when they are in the nature of exclamations—as these are—occur frequently in Shakspeare and his contemporaries. (See E. A. Abbott's *A Shakespearian Grammar*, 1905, section 511). It may also be pointed out that the text does not bear out W's guess that "comments by Antonio and Panthino" may have been deleted. There is no feeling of a break in the thought or the action either before or after Proteus's speech.

II, i, 3.—The poor quibble on "one" and "on" causes W to say that "the two words were commonly spelt alike in

the 16th century." It would have been more to the point to say that they were often *pronounced* laike.

II, i, 32; IV, i, 3.—One of the most deeply-rooted obsessions guiding the pens of "Q" and W in the editing of this play is the "hypothesis" that *The Two Gentlemen* is what it is because of the stupid meddling of an imaginary adapter or abridger. In support of this notion W more than once refers to the occurrence of the word "ye" in this text. On page 97 he has this comment: "We fancy that the form 'ye' may have been a favorite of the adapter. Bartlett gives more instances of its use in this text than in any other." Of course, the trusting reader infers from this—as he is expected to do—that in this play the word "ye" occurs so much more frequently than in any other of Shakspeare's plays that the difference must be significant, so significant as to suggest the hand of a collaborator. It is noteworthy that W does not tell his readers how many times the word 'ye' occurs in *The Two Gentlemen* and in Shakspeare's other works. Possibly he did not investigate the matter. Had he done so—as a scholar accustomed to seeking for truth by scientific method should have done—he would have discovered that John Bartlett's *Complete Concordance* is a very incomplete piece of work and errs in two directions: (1) it does not list all the plays in which the word "ye" occurs; (2) its count is incorrect (or incomplete) in every one of the plays it does list. In *The Tempest* we have counted 4 occurrences of "ye" (Bartlett lists only 3); in *The Merchant of Venice*, 4 (Bartlett, 1); in *As You Like It*, 3 (Bartlett, 1); in *A Winter's Tale*, 2 (Bartlett, 1); in *2 Henry IV*, 6 (Bartlett, 1); in *1 Henry VI*, 22 (Bartlett, 4); in *2 Henry VI*, 19 (Bartlett, 4); in *3 Henry VI*, 8 (Bartlett, 3); in *Richard III*, 3 (Bartlett, 1); in *Henry VIII*, 601 (Bartlett, 3); in *Julius Caesar*, 9 (Bartlett, 1); in *Macbeth*, 3 (Bartlett, 2); in *Antony & Cleopatra*, 2 (Bartlett 1); in *The Two Gentlemen*, 6 (Bartlett, 5). In these fourteen plays—all that are listed by Bartlett—the *Concordance* erroneously credits *The Two Gentlemen* with "ye" five times, one more than *1 Henry VI*—surely too small a difference to justify W's "fancy"! And when we consider that in some of the plays of unquestionable Shaksperian authorship "ye" occurs much more frequently than in *The Two Gentlemen* (30 times in *1 Henry IV*—not listed by Bartlett) we must

conclude that W's argument for an adapter—to put it very mildly—leaves something to be desired.

In Shakspeare's other plays, we find—on a cursory examination—"ye" in *Love's Labors Lost* thrice, in *Othello* twice, in *Coriolanus* 7 times, in *Al's Well* thrice, in *King John* once, in *Measure for Measure* once, in *The Merry Wives* once, in *Romeo & Juliet* 9 times, in *The Taming* thrice, in *Twelfth Night* thrice, in *Troilus & Cressida* 5 times, in *Timon* 9 times, in *The Comedy of Errors* and *Much Ado* not at all, in *Cymbeline* 5 times, in *King Lear* 4 times, in *Hamlet* (the Folio text) 11 times, in *Titus Andronicus* 19 times, in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* once, in *Henry V* twice, in *Richard II* twice, in *Pericles* 3 times, in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (in Rolfe's expurgated text) 45 times. We fancy that our readers will concur with us in the opinion that the sixfold occurrence of "ye" in *The Two Gentlemen* points to Shakspeare's unassisted authorship of the play rather than to the botching of an adapter.*

II, i, 146-147, 149-150.—Though W promises to record in his Notes "all significant departures from the Folio," he has no comment on the fact that he prints as prose Speed's speech ("What need she, . . . perceive the jest") which F prints as three lines of verse. The point is noteworthy only because he prints Speed's next prose speech (lines 149-150) as verse, just as F does. These inconsistencies are as inexplicable as significant.

II, ii, 1-2.—W calls these lines prose and attributes them to his imaginary abridger. In this he is in error; the lines are the kind of trimeters which occur frequently in our poet, and may be scanned thus:

"Have pa/tience, gen/tle Jul/ia!"

"I must, / where is / no rem'/dy."

That an abridger had nothing to do with this scene is sufficiently evident from the presence at the end of the scene of two wholly unnecessary speeches, one involving the entry of Panthino.

*Incidentally, it may be pointed out that the large number of *ye's* in *Henry VIII* and in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* confirm the generally-accepted view that John Fletcher had a hand in the composition of these plays. Fletcher's *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife* presents us with 202 occurrences of "ye"; *The Loyal Subject* with 345; *Monsieur Thomas* with 327. It is undoubtedly significant that in *The Maid's Tragedy*, a play almost wholly the work of Francis Beaumont, "ye" occurs only 6 times. Inasmuch as we can't pursue this subject any further at this time, we refer the reader to E. H. C. Oliphant's book, *The Plays of Beaumont & Fletcher* (1927), pp. 45-46, for some comments on Fletcher's addiction to the word "ye". In *The False One*, a much debated play, "ye" occurs 97 times.

II, iii, 6.—After Julia has given Proteus her ring, Proteus, giving her his, says (according to F):

"Why then wee'll make exchange;

Here, take you this."

W prints this speech as one verse and attributes F's arrangement to the abridger. Inasmuch as we have here perfect continuity of thought, there surely is no need for the assumption of abridgement. The peculiar printing is explicable on the theory that the scribe left room for a stage-direction ["*he gives her a ring*"] in the right margin after the word "exchange"—a phenomenon which appears several times in Thomas Middleton's manuscript of *A Game at Chesse*.

II, iii, 27.—W, following Theobald, reads "a wood woman," "wood" meaning "mad"; but this is one of Theobald's unhappy emendations, inasmuch as it does not throw light on F's printing "a would-woman." (It must be remembered that in Shakspeare's day the *l* was sounded in the words "would," "could," etc.) The correct reading, as Collier suggested, is unquestionably "a wild woman" ("wild" meaning "frantic"); the letters *i*, *o* and *e* were constantly mistaken for one another.

II, iii, 28.—One of W's most preposterous notes is his comment on the words "up and down" in Launce's description of the odor of his shoes: "here's my mother's breath up and down." W comments: "Perhaps in reference to the lace of the shoe." Reference to the *N.E.D.* would have shown him that "up and down" meant "exactly."

II, iv, 36.—Because this line ("Yourself, sweet lady, for you gave the fire") consists of five feet and is printed as a line of verse in F, W finds in it "strong evidence that the prose section [of this scene] was originally in verse." Nothing could be further from the truth. W does not inform his readers that F prints also the two succeeding lines (undoubted prose) as verse and that it offends similarly throughout this play and in other plays. Everywhere in Shakspeare's prose, even in the speeches of the clowns, it is possible to find lines which are divisible into iambic pentameters; if these happen to make a separate line in the manuscript, the compositor is likely to set them up as lines of verse. Surely, no one would consider Valentine's line, "for it appears by their bare liveries" (II, iv, 43), a line of verse because it reads like an iambic pentameter and is printed as a line of verse in F.

II, iv, 7.—Following Clark and Wright, W gives Speed an exit after line 7 but complains that no motive for the exit has been provided by the text “which had perhaps been tampered with by the adapter at this point in order to give Speed an entry.” Had an adapter thought it necessary to introduce Speed here—his absence would not be missed by anyone—he would in all probability have provided for his exit. The absence of a motive for a character’s exit from a scene is not unknown in Shakspeare’s early work and in the work of his contemporaries. There is a very striking instance of it in *Richard II* in John of Gaunt’s inexcusable exit at I, i, 195.

II, iv, 59.—“You know him well?” asks the Duke in a line having only two accents. In accord with his usual custom, W calls this a “broken line.” Obviously, every reader of this play sees and need not be told that the line is short. W must, therefore, have something significant in mind when he goes to the pains of calling attention to it; but he does not say what he means. The words “broken line” seem to suggest that violence was done to Shakspeare’s full-length verse by an abridger or adapter. The mystery is heightened by the fact that W passes many of these short lines by without comment. It might possibly be of interest to know why the words “Hath he not a son?” (II, iv, 56) are not noted as a broken line. If W is guided by any principle in this, the fact is not apparent. Such short lines, metrical and non-metrical, occur in the work of all Elizabethan dramatists, probably for variety of rhythm and life-likeness in the dialogue. Typical instances of this technical device may be seen in *Tamburlaine*.

II, iv, 69-70.—F reads “far behinde his worth / Comes all the praises that I now bestow.” W, in harmony with one of his most fixed obsessions, considers this an example of “compositor’s grammar” and adopts Rowe’s “Come.” There is no iota of warrant for attributing all such solecisms to the various compositors employed in setting up the Folio. In the first place, it must be borne in mind that a quasi-singular verb with a succeeding plural subject appears in the writings of all Elizabethans. (I may add that this seems to be especially frequent with the verb “Come.”) In the second place, all the Folio editors of the seventeenth century retained “Comes,” good evidence that they saw

nothing glaringly wrong in it. In the third place, if "Comes" is an error, the explanation is more likely to be found in what we have good reason to regard as a peculiarity of Shakspeare's chirography: the habit of making a final *e* (roman) which was identical in form with the "secretary" symbol for *es*.

II, iv, 128.—W is puzzled about the high imperious "thoughts" of love which can punish one who contemned love, and suggests that "thoughts" may be an error for "thonges." The general lover of Shakspeare will be more puzzled to know how "thonges" can be "high imperious" and punish with bitter fasts. "Thonges" is, beyond doubt, one of the worst emendations ever suggested by a Shaksperian commentator.

II, iv, 164.—F erroneously reads "make" where "makes" is required. Here, too, W finds "compositor's grammar," but the scientific critic will find only an instance of an *es* symbol mistaken for roman *e*.

II, iv, 176-77.—W comments thus: "The extra-metrical 'Ay, and,' taken with the broken line 176, suggest a 'cut' and slight adaptation." "Ay, and" is not extra-metrical; "But she loves you?" is a normal short line, suggestive of nothing abnormal; and the line (177) is one of those Alexandrines which are to be found in most of Shakspeare's plays.

II, iv, 188.—After this line F says *Exit [Valentine]*, and W calls attention to it but he does not point out that this is not an "obvious" exit, that, as a matter of fact, from the the words "Will you make haste?" and Proteus's answer ("I will") we would expect Proteus (not Valentine) to depart.

II, iv, 189.—To W, Proteus's "I will" is again suggestive of a "cut"; but inasmuch as it is a direct, clean-cut, and unequivocal answer to Valentine's question, a "cut" is wholly improbable. Incidentally I may point out that there is not in existence a single Elizabethan dramatic manuscript which would afford the slightest basis for the notion that short lines indicate abridgement by an adapter.

II, iv, 194.—One of W's important props for his hypothesis of cutting and abridgement by a botcher is F's (alleged) rendering of II, iv, 194: "It is mine. or *Valentines* praise?" This imperfect verse has been variously emended, not satisfactorily. To W the line seems "hopeless." His comment on it (page 80) reads, "Most editors read 'Is it' for

'It is,' and bolder spirits like Theobald rewrite the line as 'Is it mine eye or Valentino's praise.' But the F period [after "mine"], 'It is' and the absolutely unmetrical character of the line as it stands render legitimate emendation impossible [!]. We are, therefore, forced to conclude that the text has been tampered with at this point, in order to shorten the soliloquy."

W's argument is rendered null and void for several reasons: (1) F has a comma, not a period, after the word "mine" (See Lee's facsimile, Halliwell's facsimile, Charlotte Porter and Helen Clarke's reprint, C. W. Nichols's edition of this play, p. 87, or W. J. Rolfe's edition, p. 149); (2) "Is it" for "It is" is a very likely misreading in "secretary" script (in which *s* and *t* are often indistinguishable). (See the present writer's *The Handwriting of the Renaissance*, pp. 73-74, or L. Kellner's *Restoring Shakespeare*, pp. 104 and 111. In the Folio text of *Hamlet*, I, iv, 1, we have "is it" for "it is," the same mistake as here); (3) the question mark at the end of the line furnishes some evidence that Proteus is thinking interrogatively; (4) the following line ("Her true perfection, or my false transgression?") parallels in construction the line we are considering; (5) all critics feel that the second foot is defective and needs emendation; (6) emendation of this foot is by no means hopeless; in fact, it is rather easy (or it should be so to a bibliographer), for one need only read "my eyne" for "mine" (an auditory error) to restore both sense and metre. "Valentino's" or "Valentinē's" for "Valentine's" is obvious. "Eyne," by the way, occurs several times in our poet's work, especially in his early plays. The lower case *o* in "or" should have told W that the word "mine" did not close the sentence.

That Shakspeare could have intended us to read (or hear) "Valentinē's" *metri gratia*, is rendered probable by his reading "monēths" (or "monthē's") in this very play (in I, ii, 137 and in 3 *Henry VI* (II, v, 38), "moonēs" in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (II, i, 7), and "whalē's" in *Love's Labor's Lost* (V, ii, 332). Other Elizabethan poets did similar things on occasion; Shakspeare only in his early plays.

II, iv, 197.—"She is fair; and so is Julia that I love." W finds the rhythm of this line "halting" and consequently "suspicious"—which is just downright nonsense. One need

only read "She's" for She is" and the iambic rhythm of the line is perfect.

II, iv, 207.—Proteus, having just met Silvia (for the first time) says, "'Tis but her picture I have yet beheld." All commonsense editors and readers interpret the word "picture" here as meaning the lady's "outward show" (external beauty); but, says W, "this does not fit in with line 209, 'But when I look on her perfections' . . . It seems possible, therefore, that 'picture' here originally meant a portrait and that this speech, in the unabridged version, was spoken before Proteus had actually met Silvia." The fact that Silvia's picture is introduced into the play in a subsequent scene has no bearing on this passage. Inasmuch as "perfections" cannot be looked at with the physical eye, it is clear that Proteus speaks figuratively when he speaks of "looking on" (contemplating or coming under the influence of) her higher (mental and spiritual) qualities—such as Elizabethan-associated with physical beauty.

II, v.—W finds this whole scene (between Launce and Speed) "so empty and formless that we can only assign it to the adapter. Having brought Proteus' two soliloquies [II, iv, 190-212 and II, vi, 1-43] together he was obliged to pen an interval scene of some kind." That the scene, the first meeting of two old friends in Milan who give each other information about their masters, is "formless" is only verbiage; the scene has a very definite structure: the greeting, the telling of the news, the merry jests (fitting the persons perfectly), and the departure to the ale-house. That an abridger would have done something so appropriate is nothing but wilful assumption. A knowledge of Shakspeare's technique makes it clear that the scene is introduced between the two soliloquies to help give the impression of a lapse of time during which Proteus has fallen desperately in love with Silvia. In line 32 we are informed that the elopement is planned for "this night," but in II, iv, 177-81, Valentine has not fixed the day. From the intimacy between the Emperor-Duke and Proteus in III, i (note especially lines 6-7) it is clear that the latter has spent some time at the Milanese court.

II, vii, 67.—W so frequently wastes good space, ink, and labor to point out insignificant departures from F's punctuation that one wonders why he silently adopts F's bad "with all" instead of the generally received and sensible

"withal" ("I fear me, he will scarce be pleased withal"), *i.e.*, "therewith."

III, i, 1.—"Thurio's unnecessary entry and exit," says W, "are perhaps the result of an earlier portion of this scene having been 'cut.'" But it is at least as probable that Shakspeare brought Thurio 'on' for the Duke's first two lines because he wanted Thurio to see that Proteus enjoyed the Duke's confidence. Otherwise Thurio might not have trusted Proteus to woo Silvia in his behalf. An abridger who thought it necessary to "cut" the scene would have eliminated Thurio altogether.

III, i, 187.—W thinks that a scene, probably concerning Julia and her arrival at the Host's inn, was lost after this line, otherwise he can't understand how during Valentine's soliloquy of eighteen lines (III, i, 170-87) so much could have happened (the issuing of the proclamation of banishment, Silvia's useless pleading with her father and her committal to prison). But such things are in perfect accord with Shakspeare's known technique; besides, the events described Tubal-like by Proteus could actually have occurred within an hour or two. True, Valentine's soliloquy could not have taken an hour or two; but, then, some liberties must be allowed the dramatist, especially an Elizabethan dramatist in the early 'nineties. To suggest a lapse of time was one of the functions of the soliloquy.

III, i, 263.—When Launce, chorus-like, comments on his master and speaks of him as being more than "one knave," W thinks he is referring to the proverb "Two false knaves need no broker," and he implies that Launce is Proteus's "broker" (pander). But Launce is certainly nowhere shown us as a lewd "go-between." The meaning of the passage is perfectly clear: Proteus is a multiple knave: he is betraying Valentine, Silvia, Julia, and the Duke. Therefore, being more than one knave, he needs no broker—even by W's logic.

III, i, 271.—W rejects F's "Cate-log" for "catalogue" because he does not regard it as a quibble, even though he considers it a "Shakespearian spelling" which the compositor mistook for a joke. Then he goes on to say, "Author's spellings are always liable to crop up in comic speeches because 'the compositor then follows his copy more closely than usual'"—an opinion in support of which not a particle of evidence can be adduced. On the contrary, the greater

likelihood is that the compositor regards comic stuff (into which metre does not enter) so lightly that in matters of orthography and punctuation he follows his own bent even more ruthlessly than in serious composition. It may be noted, by the way, that W says nothing about the hyphen in "Cate-log," though this may furnish a clew to the fact that the fortunate milkmaid's name is Kate, Shakspeare's favorite name for a woman.

W instructs his readers that "'Catelog' was formerly a recognized spelling (v. N. E. R.)." A scientifically-minded and conscientious editor would, however, also have pointed out that the *N.E.D.* attributes that spelling only to the fifteenth century and cites only one example—from the year 1460. There is nothing to show, therefore, that in Shakspeare's day (*circa* 1592) they were writing "cate-log."

As to the bald assertion that "Cate-log" is a Shaksperian spelling, be it noted that the word "Catalogue" (always spelled thus) occurs, according to Bartlett, in four of Shakspeare's plays (*All's Well*, *Coriolanus*, *Macbeth*, and *Cymbeline*)—all printed, in all probability, from Shakspeare's very manuscripts. Is it not time that the nonsense about "Shaksperian spellings" were given a decent burial?

III, i, 376.—This line, the last in the scene, is followed by *Exeunt* in F, an incorrect stage-direction, inasmuch as Speed unquestionably exits ("he runs off," says W) after line 371. Such an error in stage-business, not noted by W, is important because it proves that the scene could not have been printed from players' parts. In a player's part the actor's "business" must be recorded correctly or not at all.

W, by the way, prints this line ("I'll after, to rejoice in the boy's correction" by itself, detached from the rest of Launce's speech, as if it were a line of verse, but there is nothing in F to justify this wholly inexcusable procedure.

III, ii, 3-5.—Finding in these lines unequivocal indications of the lapse of at least several days since Valentine's banishment, whereas lines 11-13 seem to imply that "at the utmost" only "an hour or two can have elapsed" since then, W attributes the discrepancy to "abridgement." W seems not to have heard of Shakspeare's double-time technique; long- and short-time notes occur in all his plays, in accordance with the needs of the story. Furthermore, the Duke's question ("Is your countryman, According to our proclamation, gone?") may mean whether Valentine is not

in hiding somewhere, so as to be near Silvia. There is nothing in the words to imply that the proclamation was published only an hour or two ago.

III, ii, 46.—Because Proteus's consent seems to W to have been given "somewhat suddenly," he opines that "the Duke's argument was longer in the original." With a prepared villain like Proteus the Duke's argument was long enough; lines 39-41 were spoken by a hypocrite who was anxious to enter on the contemptible service suggested by the Duke. On the stage Proteus might pause to seem to deliberate after the Duke's speech before he says "You have prevail'd."

III, ii, 24-25.—"*Proteus*. I do, my lord.

Duke. And also, I think thou art not
ignorant" [etc.].

A "broken line [24], with extra-metrical 'and' in the following line, suggests adaptation." A short line, a direct answer to a preceding question, is never a suggestion of adaptation. The "And" of line 25 is not extra-metrical; all who are acquainted with Shakspeare's metrics know that, like other poets of the period, *e.g.*, Jonson, he sometimes treated two vowels coming together (the *o* in "also" and the "I") as if they were one. In *The Tempest*, for example, we have the line, "Against what should ensue. How came we ashore?" (For other examples see Abbott's *Grammar*, sec. 462). The theory of adaptation, therefore, does not apply.

III, ii, 91.—"Let us into the city presently," says Thurio. To W the rhythm of this line is "halting" and "suggests adaptation." But to an Elizabethan ear the rhythm of this line was perfect. Abbott, in his *Grammar* (sec. 457a), shows conclusively that Shakspeare sometimes treated the prepositions "into" and "unto" as if the stress were on the second syllable. In *Henry V*, I, ii, 102, we have a perfect parallel to Thurio's line: "Look back into your mighty ancestors." And Juliet says, "How if, when I am laid into the tomb" [etc.]. Nothing in any of these verses justifies the notion of adaptation.

[*To be concluded*]

PROVERBS AND *SENTENTIAE* IN THE PLAYS OF SHAKSPERE

[*Concluded*]

By KATHERINE LEVER

THE fools do not generalize as much as one would expect, considering that most of them are not really fools but have a very keen insight into the workings of the human mind. Touchstone is an exception. He has all the cleverness necessary for him to be successful in his office as court jester. He especially delights in logical chains of reasoning based upon the hypotheses which he is pretending to prove, such as, "for the truest poetry is the more feigning, and lovers are given to poetry; and what they swear in poetry may be said, as lovers, they do feign."³⁷ Both in this scene with Audrey and Jacques and in those with Celia and Rosalind, he shows himself to be a master of the art of repartee.

The generalizations of the Fool in *King Lear* are unlike those of any other character because they are almost always sung rather than spoken. For instance,

Fathers that wear rags
Do make their children blind;
But fathers that bear bags
Shall see their children kind.
Fortune, that arrant whore,
Ne'er turns the key to th' poor.³⁸

This example also illustrates the unpleasant, acrid quality of most of this Fool's generalizations. Many of his sayings are obviously plebeian and, for this reason, vulgar. He says in one place, "there's not a nose among twenty but can smell him that's stinking."³⁹ and in another, "he's mad that trusts in the tameness of a wolf, a horse's health, a boy's love, or a whore's oath."⁴⁰

The heroines in comedies are even more prone to generalization than the heroes, because they are usually more in-

³⁷*As You Like It*, III, iii, 19.

³⁸*King Lear*, II, iv, 48.

³⁹*Ibid.*, II, iv, 71.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, III, vi, 19.

telligent than the men. Imogen and Rosalind are much more clever than their lovers. Imogen is thoughtful—is, indeed, forced to think by the position in which she finds herself. Such statements as the following reveal a mind which can penetrate beneath external appearances. She says,

To lapse in fullness
Is sorer than to lie for need; and falsehood
Is worse in kings than beggars.⁴¹

And again,

Society is no comfort
To one not sociable.⁴²

Rosalind's remarks are of a lighter vein, mostly about love or men, and their main purpose is to tease Orlando. "Love is merely a madness,"⁴³ she says; and in another place, "Men are April when they woo, December when they wed. Maids are May when they are maids but the sky changes when they are wives."⁴⁴ Orlando is not even as good a match for her as Benedick is for Beatrice; he rather incites her to new and higher flights of fancy. He makes not one generalization in the whole play.

The hypothesis that the indulgence in generalizations is an indication of intelligence has been, I think, proved. The converse of this hypothesis is also true. Shakspeare knew how amusing the misuse of proverbs could be; examples of such misuse are sprinkled through the plays, but there is one character who excels all others in his ability to mangle proverbs. Dogberry, who tries so very hard to be impressive and succeeds only in making a greater fool of himself with every sentence he utters, is unparalleled in stupidity. Note, for example, his misquotation: "Comparisons are odorous."⁴⁵

Laertes' advice to his sister has the same sententious tone which marks his father's advice to him; the two speeches coming in such close proximity have a very amusing effect. He is like his father in this scene and speaks like him; later in the play, when he is angry and impetuous, he wastes no words.

The comments of the chorus characters are quite often

⁴¹*Cymbeline*, III, vi, 12.

⁴²*Ibid.*, IV, ii, 12.

⁴³*As You Like It*, III, ii, 420.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, IV, i, 147.

⁴⁵*Much Ado About Nothing*, III, v, 18.

expressed in the form of general statements.⁴⁶ Enobarbus, commenting on Antony, says:

When valour preys on reason
It eats the sword it fights with;⁴⁷

in an aside earlier in the same scene he says,

'Tis better playing with a lion's whelp
Than with an old one dying.^{47a}

So many characters *do* use general remarks that it may be profitable to say something about those who do not. Proverbs and *sententiae* are not assigned indiscriminately to the characters having the longest parts and speaking the most generalizations. On the contrary, some characters (like Polonius) whose parts are not unusually long, speak twice as many as those with much longer parts.

Men of action seldom generalize. Of all the men portrayed by Shakspeare, those with whom we most associate a love of action are Othello, Hotspur, and Coriolanus. It is interesting to note that Othello quotes only one proverb, and Hotspur and Coriolanus utter just one *sententia* apiece. In all three cases, the breaking of the rule is highly effective. Othello says,

He that is robb'd, not wanting what is stol'n,
Let him not know 't, and he's not robb'd at all,⁴⁸

As Hotspur lies dying, his thoughts turn from the events which have filled his life to the significance of life in general.

But thought's the slave of slife, and life time's fool,
And time, that takes survey of all the world,
Must have a stop. Oh, I could prophesy,
But that the earthy and cold hand of death
Lies on my tongue. No, Percy thou art dust
And food for — (*Dies*)^{48a}

The single *sententia* of Coriolanus is characteristic of his brusqueness:

'Tis fond to wail inevitable strokes,
As 'tis to laugh at 'em.⁴⁹

Falstaff speaks few generalizations, and he speaks these

⁴⁶For a definition of the chorus character and a discussion of his function, see Arthur Colby Sprague, *Shakespeare and the Audience, A Study in the Technique of Exposition*, Cambridge, 1935, chapt. 7.

⁴⁸*Othello*, III, iii, 342.

^{48a}*Henry IV*, V, iv, 81.

⁴⁹*Coriolanus*, IV, i, 26.

with his tongue in his cheek. "The better part of valour is discretion"⁵⁰ is a familiar example. He has one speech in the tavern scene, when he is pretending to be Hal's father, that is universally recognized to be a parody of Euphuism. In it two proverbs from *Euphues* are quoted with mock seriousness. "For though the camomile, the more it is trodden on, the faster it grows, yet youth, the more it is wasted, the sooner it wears,"⁵¹ and later, "This pitch, as ancient writers do report, doth defile."⁵² He has too good a sense of humor to take either himself or his wise remarks seriously. I can almost hear him saying with great deliberation, as if he were making a profound statement, "and learning (is) a mere hoard of gold kept by a devil, till sack commences it and sets it in act and use,"⁵³ or "There's never none of these demure boys come to any proof."⁵⁴

The three young women who are the heroines of the three greatest tragedies, Desdemona, Cordelia, and Ophelia, speak only one generalization apiece. Cordelia says,

Time shall unfold what plighted cunning hides.
Who cover faults, at last shame them derides.
Well may you prosper!

France.

Come, my fair Cordelia,
*Exeunt France and Cordelia.*⁵⁵

This rhyme tag may be an actor's interpolation, but even if it is not, it is an old sentiment spoken with anger rather than with thought.

Desdemona, in her sweet, trustful way, is trying to understand what is troubling Othello. In the course of her attempted solution of the problem, she comforts herself with what appears to her to be an observed and proved law of psychology. Some business of the state, she thinks,

Hath puddled his clear spirit; and in such cases
Men's natures wrangle with inferior things,
Though great ones are their object.⁵⁶

Ophelia, too modest to tax Hamlet directly with his apparent change of heart, mentions it to him only once, and

⁵⁰*Henry IV*, V, iv, 20.

⁵¹*Henry IV*, II, iv, 441. Cf. Tilley, *Elizabethan Proverb Lore*, p. 88.

⁵²*Ibid.*, II, iv, 441. Cf. Tilley, p. 248.

⁵³*Henry IV*, IV, iii, 123.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, IV, iii, 96.

⁵⁵*King Lear*, I, i, 283.

⁵⁶*Othello*, III, iv, 143.

then she takes refuge in the rewording of an old *sententia*. She says,

for to the noble mind
Rich gifts wax poor when givers prove unkind.⁵⁷

It is not by accident that these young women generalize once with great dramatic effectiveness, and once only. They are by no means stupid, but our interest is centered on their emotions rather than their thoughts. They are creatures of feeling, whose emotions stir our hearts and whose sufferings arouse our pity.

Thus, generalizations are spoken most frequently by the more intellectual characters, are misused by the stupid ones trying to appear wise, rarely used by men of action and women of strong emotions, and laughed at by Falstaff. It may be objected that scholarship is in a deplorable state when it devotes so much time to demonstrating what any person with intelligence could have surmised. But is it not another feather in Shakspeare's already well-feathered cap, if the results of a detailed investigation of his plays agree so well with an opinion formed from a knowledge of human beings and their ways? It is part of Shakspeare's timelessness that he, living in an age which loved proverbs and *sententiae* for their own sake, refused for the most part to cater to this audience at the expense of realism. This is not always true, of course, but if we think that the number of generalizations is unusually large, we must remember that the men from whom Shakspeare learned about human nature were Elizabethan men, and as such were more sententious (in the now obsolete sense of the word) than are men today.

IV. SENTENTIAE AND SITUATION

The tendency of certain characters to generalize is determined by their natures, but the number of generalizations and the form which they take are largely determined by the situations in the plays. Soliloquies, asides, rhyme tags, gaps in the action which must be filled somehow, death scenes, scenes of persuasion, consolation, and advice, and finally witty conversations, seem especially to incite the characters to exercise their faculty for generalization. In no one of these scenes is there any action except intellectual; they are

⁵⁷*Hamlet*, III, i, 100.

all concerned with the expression of ideas or the interplay of minds.

How natural it is for the thoughts of a person to take a general form is well illustrated in the soliloquy of Brutus in the orchard.

He would be crown'd.
How that might change his nature, there's the question.
It is the bright day that brings forth the adder,
And that craves wary walking. Crown him—that!
And then I grant we put a sting in him
That at his will he may do danger with.
Th' abuse of greatness is, when it disjoins
Remorse from power.⁵⁸

This soliloquy is one of actual thinking⁵⁹ and as such reveals clearly how the mind of an intelligent person deals with concepts rather than with particulars. Generalizations are also common in soliloquies in which the person is conceived as speaking aloud.⁶⁰

Many soliloquies are devoted to the justification of past actions or to the attempt to decide about future ones. Why are proverbs quoted in these soliloquies? The answer to this question involves the understanding of one of the most important characteristics of proverbs—and one which, I fear, I should have emphasized long ago. A proverb used as an argument is an appeal to authority, the authority of the slowly accumulated wisdom of the race. In the case of the proverb, this authority is authentic, because the very existence of the proverb depends upon its having been judged as true by countless numbers of people.

In the case of the *sententia*, the authority is not authentic but is assumed to be. *Sententiae* are often introduced by the phrase, "They say," which indicates that the speaker is trying to find support in a current popular opinion. Even those which are not introduced in this way, because of the general form in which they are cast, tend to give the impression that the statement has more authority behind it than just merely of the person speaking. In many other places, the authority appealed to is not the experience of the race but the experience of the individual. He has, perhaps,

⁵⁸Julius Caesar, II, 1, 12.

⁵⁹Sprague, *Shakespeare and the Audience*, p. 64.

⁶⁰Richard II, V, v, 1-66.

observed the actions of other men in similar situations, and he feels competent to perceive in these actions a rule which is universally valid.

This is the explanation for the rationalizing found in the following soliloquies. When Proteus is trying to convince himself that he is not doing wrong in deserting Julia for Sylvia, he says,

Unheedful vows may heedfully be broken,
And he wants wit that wants resolv'd will
To learn his wit t' exchange the bad for better.⁶¹

Enobarbus, in an aside, which is really a soliloquy, is debating with himself whether or not he should leave Antony. He says,

Mine honesty and I begin to square.
The loyalty well held to fools does make
Our faith mere folly. Yet he that can endure
To follow with allegiance a fall'n lord
Does conquer him that did his master conquer
And earns a place i' th' story.⁶²

This appeal to authority also explains the frequency with which proverbs and *sententiae* are employed in scenes of persuasion. Ulysses arguing with Achilles,⁶³ Isabella with Angelo,⁶⁴ Cassandra and Andromache with Hector, all indulge in generalizations freely.

Andromache. O, be persudaded! Do not count it holy
To hurt by being just. It is as lawful,
For we would give much, to use violent thefts,
And rob in the behalf of charity.

Cassandra. It is the purpose that makes strong the vow;
But vows to every purpose must not hold.
Unarm, sweet Hector.

Hector. Hold you still, I say.
Mine honour keeps the weather of my fate.
Life every man holds dear, but the dear man
Holds honour far more precious-dear than life.⁶⁵

Hector's words illustrate another reason why generalizations are so often used as arguments. No matter what position one takes, it is always possible to find a proverb or *sententia* to support it. In this fact lies the source both of their popularity and weakness. The quotation of a proverb

⁶¹*Two Gentlemen of Verona*, II, vi, 11.

⁶²*Antony and Cleopatra*, III, xiii, 41.

⁶³*Troilus and Cressida*, III, iii.

⁶⁴*Measure for Measure*, II, ii.

⁶⁵*Troilus and Cressida*, V, iii, 19.

also involves a shift in the ground of the argument, which it is difficult to combat.

A very interesting scene in which proverbs are used as arguments is the following between Queen Elizabeth and Richard the Third.

Richard. Be eloquent in my behalf to her.

Queen. An honest tale speeds best being plainly told.

Richard. Then plainly to her tell my loving tale.

Queen. Plain and not honest is too harsh a style.

Richard. Your reasons are too shallow and too quick.⁶⁶

The Elizabethan audience undoubtedly relished the nimbleness with which the Queen matched her wits against those of Richard.

Some asides, such as that of Enobarbus quoted above, follow the same rules as the soliloquies. Others are reminiscent of the moustache-stroking villain of Victorian melodrama. Richard the Third's dissembling with the young prince is characteristically hypocritical and cruel.

Richard. (*Aside*) So wise, so young, they say, do never live long.

Prince. What say you, uncle?

Richard. I say, without characters fame lives long.

(*Aside*) Thus, like the formal vice, Iniquity,
I moralize two meanings in one word. . . .

Prince. And if I live until I be a man,
I'll win our ancient right in France again,
Or die a soldier as I liv'd a king.

Richard. (*Aside*) Short summers lightly have a forward spring.⁶⁷

Sententiae, characterized by brevity and concentration of meaning, make fine asides and are often used in this way.

Rhyme tags, which close scenes and cover the exits of the actors, frequently took a general form and served thus the further purpose of summing up the preceding scene or anticipating the future. Two examples of this use will suffice. Both are spoken by King Claudius at the end of a scene. In the first, he focuses the attention of the audience on the future; in the second, he gives the moral of the scene just past.

It shall be so.

Madness in great ones must not unwatch'd go.⁶⁸

My words fly up, my thoughts remain below.

Words without thoughts never to heaven go.⁶⁹

⁶⁶*Richard III*, IV, iv, 357.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, III, i, 79.

⁶⁸*Hamlet*, III, i, 195.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, III, iii, 97.

Because these tags were so useful in providing the actors with an effective exit and because some of them are not very good, it has been suggested that some are interpolations by the actors. I believe, however, that most of them were original with Shakspeare. If actors did add lines, they would be likely to quote some old saying which they had heard rather than express a new opinion. Despite the proverbial sound of these tags, very few are real proverbs.

Occasionally Shakspeare found himself in a very difficult position. The exigencies of the plot demanded a short lapse of time. He had no curtain to lower; and it would have distracted attention to introduce new characters or to interpose another scene. Let us turn to such a situation and see what Shakspeare did. In the first scene of the fourth act of *Measure for Measure*, the Duke says to Mariana,

Take, then, this your companion by the hand,
Who hath a story ready for your ear,
I shall attend your leisure; but make haste;
The vaporous night approaches.⁷⁰

Mariana and Isabella then go out together and the Duke is left alone. Shakspeare has given the audience an excuse for the short absence of the two women, but there must necessarily be a pause in the action. This interval is filled by the following words of the Duke:

O place and greatness! Millions of false eyes
Are stuck upon thee; volumes of report
Run with these false and most contrarious quests
Upon thy doings; thousand escapes of wit
Make thee the father of their idle dreams,
And rack thee in their fancies.⁷¹

Mariana and Isabella enter immediately afterwards. The time has obviously been foreshortened, but this was permitted by the theatrical convention that time could be presumed to elapse during a soliloquy in the same way in which it was passed in the Greek theatre during a lyric of the chorus.

The necessity of diverting the attention of the audience was an incentive for Shakspeare to write his best in these situations. Some of his finest passages would have been lost to us if he had filled the gaps in other ways. A case in

⁷⁰Line 55.

⁷¹Line 60.

point is Jacques' speech, "All the world's a stage," which is assumed to cover the time required by Orlando to go and bring back Adam.⁷²

Gaunt's words, spoken just before his death, indicate the contemporary Elizabethan belief concerning the words of the dying.

O, but they say the tongues of dying men
Enforce attention like deep harmony.
Where words are scarce they're seldom spent in vain,
For they breathe truth that breathe their words in pain.
He that no more must say is listen'd more
Than they whom youth and ease have taught to glose;
More are men's ends mark'd than their lives before;
The setting sun, and music at the close,
As the last taste of sweets, is sweetest last,
Writ in remembrance more than things long past.⁷³

It was also a common belief that a person at the point of death had an insight into the meaning of life denied to others. Hotspur's desire to prophesy when he is dying may be due to this belief.

The fear of death and the attempts of friends to reconcile the dying person to his fate are also reasons for the abundance of generalizations in death scenes. Death was a fascinating subject for reflection to the Elizabethan⁷⁴ and he needed only a slight provocation to express his opinion on the subject.

It is natural, therefore, for Claudio, who has just been sentenced to die, to say,

The weariest and most loath'd wordly life
That age, ache, penury, and imprisonment
Can lay on nature is a paradise
To what we fear of death.⁷⁵

and that the Duke and Isabella should try to combat this fear with such arguments as,

Thy best of rest is sleep,
And that thou oft provk'st; yet grossly fear'st
Thy death, which is no more.⁷⁶
The sense of death is most in apprehension.⁷⁷

⁷²*As You Like It*, II, vii, 139.

⁷³*Richard II*, II, i, 5.

⁷⁴Theodore Spencer, *Death and Elizabethan Tragedy*, Cambridge, 1936, chap. 4.

⁷⁵*Measure for Measure*, III, i, 129.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, III, i, 17.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, III, i, 78.

This scene illustrates one of the most common sources of *sententiae*.

It is so nearly a platitude to say that mere words can not alleviate sorrow that it is somewhat disconcerting to find so many of Shakspeare's characters indulging in this futile behaviour. Shakspeare knew how foolish it is to try to "patch grief with proverbs,"⁷⁸ but he also knew that human beings always do try to console one another in trouble and that they usually resort to proverbs and sententious remarks. The following conversation is the model for such scenes of consolation and demonstrates clearly the tendency of the consoler to employ generalizations and of the consoled to rebel against them.

- Duke.* Let me speak like yourself and lay a sentence
Which, as a grise, or step, may help these lovers
Into your favour.
When remedies are past, the griefs are ended
By seeing the worst, which late on hopes depended.
To mourn a mischief that is past and gone
Is the next way to draw new mischief on.
What cannot be preserv'd when fortune takes,
Patience her injury a mock'ry makes.
The robb'd that smiles steals something from the thief;
He robs himself that spends a bootless grief.
- Brabantio.* So let the Turk of Cyprus us beguile;
We lose it not, so long as we can smile.
He bears the sentence well that nothing bears
But the free comfort which from thence he hears;
But he bears the sentence and the sorrow
That to pay grief must of poor patience borrow.
These sentences, to sugar, or to gall,
Being strong on both sides, are equivocal.
But words are words. I never yet did hear
That the bruis'd heart was pierc'd through the ear.
Beseech you, now to the affairs of state.⁷⁹

Elizabethans delighted in word-play of all kinds and enjoyed particularly sparring with proverbs. In *Henry V*, when the French soldiers are talking before the battle, there are two jests based upon proverbs. The Dauphin says, "Le chien est retourné à son propre vomissement, et la truie lavée au baurbier. Thou mak'st use of anything;" to which the Constable sarcastically replies, "Yet do I not use

⁷⁸*Much Ado About Nothing*, V, i, 17.

⁷⁹*Othello*, I, iii, 199. Cf. *Much Ado*, V, i.

my horse for my mistress, or any such proverb so little kin to the purpose."⁸⁰

A stichomythy of proverbs was very popular and had all the weight of Anglo-Saxon tradition behind it. Note the ease with which the two young wits thrust and parry.

Constable. By my faith, sir, but it is! Never anybody saw it but his lackey. 'Tis a hooded valour; and when it appears, it will bate.

Orleans. Ill will never said well.

Constable. I will cap that proverb with 'There is flattery in friendship.'

Orl. And I will take up that with 'Give the devil his due.'

Const. Well plac'd! There stands your friend for the devil. Have at the very eye of that proverb with 'A pox for the devil.'

Orl. You are the better at proverbs, by how much 'a fool's bolt is soon shot.'⁸¹

Another example of the way in which a clever person may turn a proverb to good advantage occurs in *Henry IV*, Part II. The Justice says to Falstaff, "Wake not a sleeping wolf," to which Falstaff flippantly replies, "To wake a wolf is as bad as smell a fox."⁸² The boy in *Henry V* says, "For Nym, he hath heard that men of few words are the best men, and therefore he scorns to say his prayers."⁸³

V. SHAKSPERE AS CROESUS*

It is a dangerous occupation to pluck generalizations from their context as one would pick blackberries from bushes, even though they make a delicious sauce with which to cover up a rather tasteless cake. But I hope I have sufficiently demonstrated the contextual integrity of the generalizations, so that no harm will result from studying the form and content of the generalizations without reference to the speaker or situation.

Shakspeare was not content to use *sententiae* without alter-

⁸⁰III, vii, 68.

⁸¹*Ibid.*, 121.

⁸²I, ii, 173.

⁸³III, ii, 38.

*Constant and penetrating observation had made him a Croesus in 'maxims and reflections', and he never tires of giving some witty point to his wisdom and knowledge of life." Levin L. Schücking, *The Meaning of Hamlet*, London, 1937, p. 68.

⁸⁴*Hamlet*, III, i, 100.

ation. Sometimes he did, of course, have the characters repeat old ideas in their old form for the sake of realism. Often, however, he took the old ideas and reworded, or elaborated, upon them. An example of the first is Ophelia's *sententia*,

for to the noble mind
Rich gifts wax poor when givers prove unkind.⁸⁴

How much finer this is than the prosaic sentiment found in *Euphues* and in the *Pandosto* of Greene, "A gift is valued by the mind of the giver."⁸⁵

The old proverb, "The blunt whetstone makes a sharp edge,"⁸⁶ is twisted cleverly by Shakspeare into "For always the dullness of the fool is the whetstone of the wits."⁸⁷ The idea that we lessen our woes by telling them is ancient. It occurs in *Petite Palace*, for instance, in the form, "it somewhat easeth the afflicted to utter their annoy,"⁸⁸ but Malcom—and notice that he is only a minor character—says,

The grief that does not speak
Whispers the o'erfraught heart and bids it break.⁸⁹

It has been thought, in the past that a moral system of ethics could be constructed from the wise sayings of Shakspeare. This, however, would be possible only if example were joined to precept or if only those statements were selected which were spoken by the virtuous characters. When the generalizations are completely isolated and classified by content, it becomes apparent at once that many different and mutually exclusive opinions are held about the same subject.

About death, for instance, Cæsar says,

Cowards die many times before their deaths;
The valiant never taste of death but once.
Of all the wonders that I yet have heard,
It seems to me most strange that men should fear,
Seeing that death, a necessary end,
Will come when it will come,⁹⁰

but Claudio said that the worst life was preferable to death,⁹¹ and Catesby says, "'Tis a vile thing to die."⁹²

⁸⁴Tilley, p. 346.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*, p. 325.

⁸⁷*As You Like It*, I, ii, 58.

⁸⁸Tilley, p. 302.

⁸⁹*Macbeth*, IV, iii, 209.

⁹⁰*Julius Caesar*, II, ii, 32. Cf. *II Henry IV*, III, ii, 250, and *King Lear*, V, ii, 9.

⁹¹*Measure for Measure*, III, i, 129.

⁹²*Richard III*, III, ii, 62.

⁹³*Julius Caesar*, III, i, 101. Cf. *Othello*, I, iii, 309, and *Timmo*, V, i, 225.

Diametrically opposed to this is the frequently expressed opinion that death is a boon because it ends mortals' woes. Cassius says,

Why, he that cuts off twenty years of life,
Cuts off so many years of fearing death.⁹³

There is no greater unanimity about the more abstract subject, authority. Within the single play, *Measure for Measure*, the statements about authority do agree, but only because they are all spoken either by Claudio or Isabella. On the other hand, Parolles says, "There is no fettering of authority,"⁹⁴ and the Clown in *The Winter's Tale*, "and though Authority be a stubborn bear, yet he is oft led by the nose with gold."⁹⁵

It is almost impossible to group the different conceptions of fortune and the gods, since there are almost as many beliefs as there are characters who mention them. Four general types, however, may be distinguished. First of all, there is the belief that,

The gods are just and of our pleasant vices
Make instruments to scourge us,⁹⁶

which is the anthesis of Gloucester's remark earlier in the same play,

As flies to wanton boys are we to th' gods,
They kill us for their sport.⁹⁷

It is frequently denied that fortune controls the affairs of men,⁹⁸ and even more frequently it is asserted that at some point in a man's life he is the master of his fate for the rest of it.⁹⁹ Finally, there is the completely fatalistic point of view illustrated by Richard III. He says,

All unavoided is the doom of destiny.¹⁰⁰

"Virtue is bold, and goodness never fearful,"¹⁰¹ says one character, and he is seconded by another who calls virtue beauty.¹⁰² But there are also many pessimistic remarks about the ease with which virtue may be contaminated,¹⁰³

⁹⁴*All's Well that Ends Well*, II, iii, 251.

⁹⁵IV, iv, 832.

⁹⁶*King Lear*, V, iii, 170. Cf. *Richard II*, III, ii, 61, and *Antony*, II, i, 5.

⁹⁷*Ibid.*, IV, i, 36.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, I, ii, 127. Cf. *Julius Caesar*, I, ii, 140, and *All's Well*, I, i, 231.

⁹⁹*Julius Caesar*, I, ii, 139, IV, iii, 218.

¹⁰⁰*Richard III*, IV, iv, 218.

¹⁰¹*Measure for Measure*, III, i, 215.

¹⁰²*Twelfth Night*, III, iv, 399. Cf. *Hamlet*, I, v, 53.

and occasionally virtue is scorned as the refuge of the cowardly.¹⁰³

The suggestion may be made that if particular generalizations do not yield us any positive information, perhaps, there is a general trend of interests which is significant. I have classified Shakspeare's generalizations rather loosely according to content and found the following: Love leads the list as the most popular subject, but outstrips by only a narrow margin fortune and the gods, sin, virtue, wisdom, sorrow, consolation, and wit. Other popular subjects are life and death, majesty, man, woman, time, words, youth, the fitness of means to ends, and like producing like. The significance of this list lies in the fact that the number of generalizations about a subject is almost exactly proportionate to the universal appeal which the subject has. Moreover, as we proceed down the list, and the universality of themes decreases, this decrease is balanced by the increasing fascination of the themes for the Elizabethan mind. Thus love, which admittedly is the most interesting subject to the average man, heads the list, whereas majesty and the fitness of means to ends, which concern us less today than they did the Elizabethans, are near the end of the list.

Dr. Morris LeRoy Arnold has discovered a trend in the treatment of certain subjects, which might have autobiographical significance. He says,

Thus the moralizing swings a full circle, beginning with the conventionally sympathetic attitude toward the unhappiness of monarchs, but soon abandoning these long and ornamental speeches for sententious and epigrammatic truisms on love and ethics, these in turn giving way to more intimate and intellectual philosophizings on human conduct, and these supplanted by the bitterly misanthropic broodings.¹⁰⁵

But naturally it is the scenes within a play and the mood of the play as a whole which influence most the subjects discussed. Thus, judging from the number of generalizations on the subject, sorrow would seem to be the dominating theme in *Richard II* and important in *Macbeth* and other tragedies; wit and wisdom in *Love's Labor's Lost*, (wisdom also in *Hamlet* and *As You Like It*), love most of all in

¹⁰³*Julius Caesar*, I, ii, 315, *Macbeth*, IV, iii, 19, *Romeo and Juliet*, II, iii, 17.

¹⁰⁴*Richard III*, V, iii, 310.

¹⁰⁵*The Soliloquies of Shakespeare, A Study in Technic*, New York, 1911, p. 153.

Romeo and Juliet, but also emphasized in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *As You Like It*, and *All's Well that Ends Well*; fortune in *Antony and Cleopatra* and *King Lear*; sin in *Troilus and Cressida*; authority in *Measure for Measure*, and so forth.

Shakspeare's restraint kept him free from censure when the proverb began to lose its popularity, but the delight of the nineteenth century in *sententiae* has injured the true appreciation of Shakspeare more than it has helped. Many fine passages have become hackneyed by continual repetition, and others have lost their true meaning by being wrenched from their context. Nevertheless, the *sententiae* have withstood well the "whips and scorns of time," both because of the beauty of the expression and the depth of understanding revealed. What were to other writers merely literary embellishments or flights of fancy became by the force of Shakspeare's genius vital truths. The words do not issue forth from the mouths of the characters; they are the thoughts of human beings, living, thinking men and women.¹⁰⁸

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¹⁰⁸For a discussion of collections of proverbs, bibliographical material, and parallels for Shaksperian proverbs, see Richard Jente, "The Proverbs of Shakespeare with Early and Contemporary Parallels," *Washington University Studies, Humanistic Series*, vol. XIII, no. 2, pp. 391-444. The articles by M. C. Wahl, "Das parömiologische Sprachgut bei Shakespeare," *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, vol. XXII, pp. 45-130, vol. XXIII, pp. 21-08, study the proverbs from still another viewpoint.

WHO IS *SILVIA*? —
AND OTHER PROBLEMS IN
THE GREENE-SHAKSPERE RELATIONSHIP

By THOMAS H. MCNEAL

A *MOTIF* of considerable complexity appearing in many of the works of Robert Greene is that in which a lady, adorned by nature with much beauty and many virtues, receives a host of suitors, usually men of rank from foreign parts. Thus may the scheme be expressed in its simplest form. The notion more often than not, however, is expanded into a richer pattern by the addition of certain other suitable and companionable possibilities; the suitors, one after another, make speeches to her, expressing their worth and their hopes of obtaining her hand; or she may have a kind father, who allows her to choose, for love, a husband from among them. The choice is often made difficult, in that the lady must decide between a man of rank and a man of lower social order; between a rich fool and a poor wise man; between a handsome but wicked cad and a none too good-looking but virtuous hero.

The device is a pretty one. A beautiful lady confronted with the choice of a suitor is the very essence of the love tale. Furthermore, it has conflict and drama in it; for inevitably one or more of the suitors must be disappointed and may do something about the matter. Greene has played many variations upon the theme. It is clearly evident in at least six of his works: *Mamilla* (Part I, 1580, and Part II, 1583), *The Anatomie of Loves Flatteries* (1583), *Penelopes Web* (1587), *Euphues His Censure to Philatus* (1587), *Orlando Furioso* (1588?), and *A Groatworth of Wit* (1592).¹ Thus it may be said to cover the whole period of Greene's writing career, appearing in his first and last works.

The Anatomie of Loves Flatteries and *Orlando Furioso* show the *motif* in its fullest development. In these two pieces the fanciful situation becomes the backbone of the plot. The lady's guardian allows the gentlemen—one is of

¹Dates come from J. C. Jordan's *Robert Greene*, Columbia University Press, N. Y., 1915.

lower rank but of greater virtue than the rest—to make proposal speeches; each tells his worth as a prospective husband; the lady is given free choice in the matter. This last phase of a “lady’s choice” likewise appears in *Mamillia* and in *Euphues His Censure* (Second Tale). In the *Loves Flatteries* occurs another and even more interesting development in the *motif*: there Sylvia, the heroine, after the suitors have made their proposal speeches, presents them with her own pointed and witty evaluation of them.

Thus has this device of a convocation of suitors come down to us through Greene. The purpose of its present investigation is to answer a question that by now should have grown nearly inevitable: Did Shakspeare borrow the device—along with certain other matters—from Greene, for use in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* and *The Merchant of Venice*?

Of Greene’s six pieces containing a convocation of suitors, two, it seems to me, bear directly upon these plays of Shakspeare. They are *Mamillia*, Parts I and II, and *The Anatomie of Loves Flatteries*, a sort of sequel tacked on to the *Mamillia*, but bearing little relation to it save in its many times reiterated theme—that woman should wed not for money but for love alone. Since these love-pamphlets must be held clearly in mind if the discussion that follows is to be understood, it is well to present full summaries of them:

Mamillia (Part I).

Mamillia, daughter of Signor Gonzaga of Padua, serves a Duchess in the court at Venice. There she meets Florian, who so frightens her with his ardent wooing that she returns home to her father’s house in Padua. There she is set upon by other young men; and by one in particular, Pharicles, a wealthy courtier. The lady is at last deceived by his seeming sincerity, and Gonzaga, seeing his daughter twenty and marriageable, decides to sanction the young man’s suit. He counsels Mamillia’s nurse, Castillia, to ascertain whether the choice would please her. Castillia finds Mamillia reading a letter from Florian, and seizes this opportunity to discourse on the blisses of married life, suggesting that Pharicles would make a fine husband. Driven on in this fashion, Mamillia allows herself to fall deeply in love with the man.

But on the very day when she promises him her hand, he meets Publia, her cousin, and they fall in love. The false Pharicles de-

cides now to wed Mamillia for her money, and yet to enjoy Publia. Gonzaga, possibly suspicious, declares to Pharicles that he wishes Mamillia wed for love, not for her wealth. The villain-hero replies he loves the girl devotedly, and the pair are then formally betrothed.

He has entangled himself too deeply with Publia, however, and when he begins to suspect that Mamillia has learned of his villainy, he goes into exile—into the land of Sicillia—disguised as a pilgrim.

Mamillia (Part II).

Mamillia, at home, suffers much over the falsehood of Pharicles. A secret friend tells her and Gonzaga that her lover is either betrothed or married to Publia. Gonzaga at last takes her to Publia who explains the matter as it is—even showing letters from Pharicles. Mamillia, though sad at the discovery of Pharicles' perfidy, is nevertheless relieved that he is neither betrothed nor wed to her cousin, and hopes that he may still be won back.

In Sicillia, still dissembling, yet nevertheless torn between his two loves, Pharicles settles in Saragossa, the chief city of that land. He soon discards his disguise, and makes friends with the people, particularly with a young nobleman, Ferragus, the son of the Governor, Signor Fernese.

Soon he is seen by Clarynda, a professed courtesan, beautiful, rich, and of a fine old family. She writes him a letter, confessing a passion for him,—even promising that she will quit her evil ways if he will only love her. Pharicles debates whether he had not better take her, with all her wealth; but Ferragus advises him to abandon such a notorious harlot. In the meantime he meets the virtuous and beautiful lady, Modesta, and is so struck by her charms that the thought of Clarynda becomes disgusting, and he writes the courtesan a letter, in which he says that he cannot plight troth with a dishonest strumpet. Clarynda is so enraged when she receives his missive that she goes before the city fathers and accuses Pharicles of being a spy. These wise men condemn him to death; and because there is a law forbidding spies and foreigners to defend themselves, Pharicles is not allowed to submit evidence that would clear him of the crime. The Governor reprieves him and extends his life for forty days. There is a merchant of Padua, Rhomberto by name, in Saragossa at this time, and he hears of the plight of the unfortunate Pharicles. This man returns in haste to Padua, to relate to Gonzaga the distressing story of the young man.

But in Padua Gonzaga lies dying. He tells Mamillia that he has left her the only heir and sole executor of his lands, with this proviso,—that if she marry the faithless Pharicles, she shall be disinherited, and all the estate go to Padua. Thus when Rhomberto arrives, Gonzaga is dead. He is forced to tell Mamillia the sad story. The lady is still constant to her betrothal vow, and declares that she will obey her father only so far as nature allows. She then furnishes a ship, and in disguised apparel, sails for Sicillia, whither she arrives on the day before the execution is to take place.

In haste she gets a copy of the letters that have passed between Pharicles and Clarynda, and on the fatal day arrives at the place of doom ahead of the magistrates. When they at last arrive, a dramatic scene takes place: "Signor Fernese standing up to pronounce the fatal sentence, was interrupted by Mamillia, who was coming in richly attired and strangely disguised, kneeling on her knees, craved leave to speak." At the presentation of the evidence, Clarynda confesses and receives the punishment due such an offence. Mamillia and Pharicles return happily to Padua, where they are married. The senators of the city, after hearing their story, allow them to keep Mamillia's lands.

The Anatomie of Loves Flatteries.

Mamillia writes to her friend, the Lady Modesta, whom she met in Saragossa, a letter of warning to women on their trials in love. Modesta replies that the advice comes too late, for she is already in love. Her friend wants her to marry for wealth, while she desires a husband of wisdom and beauty, one whom she can respect. She asks Mamillia for counsel. Mamillia advises her to follow the dictates of her fancy. Then she tells a tale to prove her point:

There dwelt in Toledo a certain Castilian named Valasco, a gentleman and a merchant of great wealth. In his youth he was wed to a kinswoman, Sylandra, without wit or beauty. When he grew older, he detested her, and she became the only woman his crazy stomach could not digest.

They had only one daughter, Sylvia; and Valasco was determined to marry this child to love, and love alone. Sylandra died when the girl was sixteen, thus leaving the marriage arrangements in her father's hands.

Many suitors she had, but on Valasco's advice that she marry only for love, she refused them all; until one day there appeared three "Gentlemen of Sundry nations and divers dispositions, the first an Italian called S. Gradasso, the second a Frenchman named Monsieur de Vaste, the third an Englishman called Master Petronius of great wit but very small wealth.

These three were first interviewed by Sylvia's father. Signor Gradasso, the aged, offered wealth. Monsieur de Vaste, not being the wisest man in the world, let a man of his called Jaques be his interpreter, "faining that he was utterly ignorant of the Spanish tongue." Poor Petronius offered his suit sadly, since he had nothing but himself to give to Valasco's beautiful daughter. The father, after his custom, took the suitors to Sylvia's chamber and told his child to choose one or dismiss all.

Sylvia related to the suitors a dream that she had had. She saw Venus in a garden, where there were three trees: an old and withered oak, but full of acorns; a beautiful cedar, but rotted at the root; and a green bay tree, fine, but without berries. Venus then changed the girl into a dove and bade her build a nest in one of the trees. But before she could choose she awoke. Now,

she asked the suitors, what was the meaning of the dream? They argued the trees and themselves, and in a sprightly fashion Sylvia made comments upon their statements. In the end she chose Petronius for her husband.

The Two Gentlemen of Verona relates itself at its beginning to the evaluation of suitors and the problems of the lady's choice, as it is expressed in *The Anatomie of Loves Flatteries*.² Act I, Scene ii, opens:

- Julia.* But say, Lucetta, now we are alone,
 Wouldst thou, then, counsel me to fall in love?
Lucetta. Ay, Madam, so you stumble not unheedfully.
Julia. Of all the fair resort of gentlemen
 That every day with parle encounter me,
 In thy opinion which is worthiest love?
Lucetta. Please you repeat their names, I'll show
 my mind
 According to my shallow simple skill.
Julia. What think'st thou of the fair Sir Eglamour?
Lucetta. As of a knight well-spoken, neat, and fine;
 But, were I you, he never should be mine.
Julia. What think'st thou of the gentle Proteus?
Lucetta. Lord, Lord! to see what folly reigns in us!
Julia. How now, what means this passion at his name?
Lucetta. Pardon, dear madam; 'tis a passing shame
 That I, unworthy body as I am,
 Should censure thus on lovely gentlemen.
Julia. Why not on Proteus, as of all the rest?
Lucetta. Then, thus,— of many good I think him best.
Julia. Your reason?
Lucetta. I have no other but a woman's reason;
 I think him so because I think him so.
Julia. And wouldst thou have me cast my love on him?
Lucetta. Ay, if you thought your love not cast away.
Julia. Why, he, of all the rest, hath never mov'd me.
Lucetta. Yet he, of all the rest, I think, best
 loves ye.³

But, save for the fact that the *motifs* are the same, there is little reason for accusing Shakspeare of borrowing this passage from Greene. The men under discussion are so slightly individualized that there is no chance of comparing them with the suitors of *Loves Flatteries*. In addition, the spirit of raillery present in Greene's episode is almost wholly absent in Shakspeare's.

That the scene was developed out of the *motif* as pre-

³*Two Gentlemen or Verona*, The Arden Shakespeare, D. C. Heath and Co., 1931.

sented by Greene, however, finds considerable confirmation in other directions: the novel and the play are similar in a number of devices and plot situations that are not necessarily connected with the evaluation of suitors; and the *Two Gentlemen* is related at certain points to *Mamillia*, as well.

But in order to understand what these similarities are, it is important to recall the story of "The Shepherdess Felismena," from the *Diana Enamorada* by Montemayor, which is the source already assigned to the *Two Gentlemen*.⁴

Felix woos a fair shepherdess, Felismena, who though in love with him, affectedly refuses to read the letter that he writes her. However, she at last admits her love, and all goes well until the father of Felix, feeling that the boy is wasting his time at home, sends him away to court. There he falls in love with the lady Celia. The faithful Felismena, longing for her departed lover, disguises herself as a boy and goes in search of him. Putting up at an inn in the city where the faithless Felix now resides, she goes with her host to see the lover serenade his new mistress, who spurns him. After this incident, Felismena becomes Felix's page, and is sent by him to plead his cause to Celia. That lady, however, bewails the fate of the deserted Felismena, of whom she has heard, and falls in love with the page. The story from then on goes quickly into tragedy: Celia dies for love of the page; Felix, full of grief, disappears; the fair shepherdess goes on a long two-years' search for him.

Straightway it will be seen that the "Fair Shepherdess" has much in common with *Mamillia*, as well as with the *Two Gentlemen*: (1) A letter plays a part in the plot. (2) There is a villain-hero. (3) A second lady is wooed by the hero, but she is aware of his faithlessness and refuses his suit. (4) The forsaken heroine goes disguised in search of her lover.

From such an analysis, it might appear that Shakspeare and Greene are merely using the same source; and such a conclusion is probably correct, up to a certain point. But it does not take into consideration the likenesses between *Mamillia* and the *Two Gentlemen* that are not present in the "Fair Shepherdess"; and it does not account for the similarities that exist between *The Anatomie of Loves Flatteries*—which bears no relation at all to Montemayer—and Shakspeare's comedy.

⁴Shakspeare's employment of this work has been thoroughly analyzed in Miss Rachele Lee Allen's *Shakspeare's Use of His Sources in "The Two Gentlemen of Verona,"* M. A. Thesis, University of Texas, 1935.

The problem is made fairly clear by a list of those similarities that are analogous to the play and Greene's novels alone:

Mamillia and the Two Gentlemen—

- (1) The heroine is advised by her woman companion to marry a faithless lover.
- (2) The villain-hero marries the long-suffering heroine in the end.

Loves Flatteries and the Two Gentlemen—

- (1) The heroine is named Sylvia.
- (2) The lady asks counsel as to whom she had best wed.
- (3) The motif of a convocation of suitors appears.

My conclusion is that Shakspeare—possibly because of the likeness that exists between *Mamillia* and the "Fair Shepherdess"—has combined with the Montemayor source certain elements found in Greene's first novel; furthermore, that he was led naturally into using features of *The Anatomie of Loves Flatteries* because this novel is a sequel to *Mamillia*. That he did have his eye on the *Loves Flatteries* is evidenced particularly in his employment of two devices absent in the "Fair Shepherdess"; the name *Sylvia* (*Silvia* in the *Two Gentlemen*); and the *motif* of a convocation of suitors.

Storojenko has already pointed out one point of similarity between *The Merchant of Venice* to the novel *Mamillia*. In commenting upon the heroine's rescue of her lover, he suggests that "Mamillia disguises herself, like Portia in the *Merchant of Venice*, as a man."⁵ This is exaggeration, pure and simple, since the story states merely that the lady *disguised* herself, leaving the rest to the reader's imagination. Storojenko's slip, however, was natural enough, and shows the power of suggestion; for Mamillia was going to court to plead for a man about to be executed, which is enough to bring up a vision of *The Merchant* to anyone steeped in Shakspeare. A relation that the play bears to the *Loves Flatteries* has likewise been cited. The undesignated biographer of Robert Greene in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* observes that this tale of Sylvia "contains a review of

⁵Storojenko, Nicholas, "The Life of Robert Greene, 1878. Translated from the Russian by E. Z. B. Hodgetts, and included in A. B. Grosart's *The Complete Works of Robert Greene*, Huth Library Series, London, 1881-3, 15 vols. Vol. I, p. 70.

suitors recalling Portia's in *The Merchant of Venice*"" But the extent of the play's dependence upon these two works does not appear to have been sufficiently appreciated or investigated. Certainly other possibly less obvious but equally true similarities exist between the comedy and Greene's novels.

A synopsis of Giovanni Fiorentino's *Il Pecorone* (IV, i), the source from which the principal elements of the plot of *The Merchant* are derived, follows:

A young gentleman of Florence, named Giannetto, was adopted by a wealthy merchant of Venice, named Ansaldo, who bestowed on him everything that the youth could desire. At length Giannetto desired to accompany certain friends on a merchandising expedition to Alexandria, and Ansaldo fitted him out with a splendid ship and goods to that end. But passing near the port of Belmonte, he was persuaded to leave his companions and try his fortune in winning the hand of the beautiful widow who reigned over that place. This lady has made it a law that any man who comes to Belmonte must woo her, and if he can win her he must take her for wife and be the lord of all the country; but if he cannot win her, he loses everything he has brought with him. Giannetto tried his luck, and it appeared for a while that he had charmed the lady completely—that he might even enjoy her person that night. Unfortunately, he did not know that she had drugged his wine, and he awoke next morning to find himself dismissed, all of his possessions gone.

But so infatuated was the young man with the lady's charms that thrice the merchant Ansaldo put up money and a new ship for him to try his fortune. On the third and last time Ansaldo was forced to borrow ten thousand ducats of gold from a Jew at Mestri. And the condition of the loan was that if it were not paid on the feast of St. John, the Jew might take a pound of flesh from any part of Ansaldo's body. So the bond was signed, and Giannetto set sail again. On this occasion he was so fortunate as to win what he sought, and the lady wedded him with great pomp.

There came a day when Giannetto recalled Ansaldo's bond, and was stricken with fear lest the ten thousand ducats had not been paid. Whereupon his lady bade him ride with speed to Venice, taking attendants and a hundred thousand ducats to cancel the debt. Meanwhile, the time having expired, the Jew had seized Ansaldo and made demand for the pound of flesh. There were merchants of Venice who offered to pay the money, but the Jew would not listen to them. Even when Giannetto arrived, bearing ten times the amount required under the bond, the man was equally obdurate.

Now when Giannetto had left his lady she followed him to Venice, dressed in the garb of a lawyer, and with two attendants,

put up at an inn. There she bade her servant relate that his master was a young man who had just completed his law studies at Bologna, and was returning homeward. By this ruse she was received with great civility. When she inquired of the landlord respecting the administration of justice in that city, he answered that it was too severe, and told her the circumstances of Ansaldo's bond and its forfeiture. Thereupon the lawyer caused a proclamation to be made that whoever had any questions of law to determine should have recourse to him; and Giannetto won the consent of the Jew that the famous lawyer should be called in consultation.

In the trial that followed, the young lawyer freed Ansaldo by demanding that the Jew cut no more or less than the pound of flesh that his bond called for, and that he shed no drop of blood.⁷

The rest of the story relates the episode of the ring, which appears only in *Il Pecorone* and in *The Merchant of Venice*, and thus need not be retold here.

With this tale in mind, the true relationship between Greene's novels and Shakspeare's play may be seen with at least some clarity. In the first place, as was suggested in the preceding study of the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Shakspeare appears to have been led from the true source (*Il Pecorone*) into use of materials from a secondary source (*Mamillia* and the *Loves Flatteries*) because of certain very evident similarities that exist between the Italian tale and Greene's love-pamphlets:

(1) The heroines—the Widow of Belmonte, Mamillia, and Sylvia—are all rich (the first two of them Italian) ladies, renowned for beauty and courted by many suitors.

(2) The Lady of Belmonte and Mamillia go in disguise to the defense of a man doomed to die, and through their adroitness rescue him from death before the magistrates of the city.

We may now turn to a comparison of *Mamillia* with *The Merchant of Venice*. The following devices that tie the two pieces together are entirely lacking in the Tale in *Il Pecorone*:

Mamillia:

The heroine, Mamillia,
 . . . came home to her father's house in Padua,
 where she had not remained long, before divers
 young Gentlemen drawn by the passing prayse of

⁶Fourteenth Edition, 1929, X, 855.

⁷An abridged version of this tale may be found in the New Variorum Edition, *The Merchant of Venice*, 6th Edition, 1888, Appendix, p. 298.

⁸*The Merchant of Venice*, New Variorum, p. 176-7.

her perfections which was bruted abroad through
 al the Citie, repayred thither all in general,
 hoping to get the goale. (I. 18).

The Merchant of Venice:

In Belmont is a lady—richly left;
 And she is fair, and, fairer than that word,
 Of wondrous virtues: sometimes from her eyes
 I did receive fair speechless messages.
 Her name is Portia; nothing undervalu'd
 To Cato's daughter, Brutus' Portia.
 Nor is the wide world ignorant of her worth;
 For the four winds blow in from every coast
 Renown'd suitors; and her sunny locks
 Hang on her temples like a golden fleece;
 Which makes her seat of Belmont Colchos' strand,
 And many Jasons come in quest of her. (I, i, 161-73).

(2) Each inherits a fortune from her father on a condition set down in a will. And this will in both cases has to do with the choice of a suitor.

Mamillia:

"I have left thee by my last will and testament onely heire and sole executor of all my lands and moveables, yet with this proviso, that if thou marrie with faithless Pharicles, that then thou shalt be disinherited." (I. 240).

Portia:

"I may neither choose whom I would, nor refuse whom I dislike; so is the will of a living daughter curb'd by the will of a dead father." (I, i, 22-24).

The reactions of the heroines to the surb of a father's cree are also similar. Mamillia declares that she will obey her father "only so far as nature allows" (I. 240). Portia, though she obeys, likewise feels that nature is hard to deny:

"The brain may devise laws for the blood; but a hot temper leaps o'er a cold decree: such a hare is madness the youth, to skip o'er the meshes of good counsel the cripple." (I, ii, 17-20).

(4) Each falls in love with a man of comparative poverty, and rejects the suits of men of wealth.

Mamillia:

For other of great birth, and no small wealth . . . have made great suite, and have offered large foeiments to have my good will. (I. 109-10).

The Merchant of Venice:

Bassanio. Oh my Antonio, had I but the means
 To hold a rival place with one of them,
 I have a mind presages me such thrift,
 That I should questionless be fortunate.
 (I, i, 173-6).

(5) Each has a woman confidant to advise her about love and the choice of a suitor—Mamillia her nurse, Castilla, Portia her waiting-maid, Nerissa.

(6) The callousness of Portia's Bassanio in his desire for a rich wife parallels the character of Mamillia's villain-hero, Pharicles.

(7) The father in each work desires that his daughter be married for love and love alone.

Mamillia (Gonzaga to Pharicles):

"... rather wishing with Themistocles to marrye my daughter to a man, then to money: desiring likewise his choice to be for her goodness, and not for her goods, least if the knot be knit for wealth, it might be dissevered for Poverty. . . . being willing to marry my daughter, but neyther to buy her an husband, nor to set her to sale, unless the price her love." (I. 108-9).

Your father was ever virtuous; and holy men at their deaths have good inspirations: therefore the lottery, that he hath devis'd in these three chests of gold, silver, and lead—whereof who chooses his meaning chooses you,—will no doubt, never be chosen by any rightly, but one who shall rightly love. (I, ii, 26-31).

(9) Both heroines are ladies from Padua, or seemingly so; for Padua is really Mamillia's home, while Portia assumes the disguise of a young doctor of Padua when she goes to Antonio's rescue. There is a queer mix-up at this point. Shakspeare at first seems to have had in mind to let Portia pretend to come from Mantua. She says to Balthazar, in preparation for the journey to Venice:

... take this letter
 And use thou all the endeavour of a man
 In speed to Mantua. (III, iv, 49-51).

But in IV, i, 116-17, the name of the city is changed:

Duke. Come you from Padua, from Bellario?
Nerissa. From both, my lord.

It likewise becomes Padua in V, i, 246:

Portia.
 Here is a letter; read it at your leisure;
 It comes from Padua, from Bellario.

Shaksperian editors have logically corrected the mistake, preserving the *Padua* reading. Theobald explains the matter: "'Tis evident to any diligent reader that we must restore, as I have done,—'In speed to Padua'; it is there, and not at 'Mantua,' Bellario liv'd. So afterwards, 'A messenger, with letters from the Doctor, new come from Padua.' And again, 'It comes from Padua, from Bellario.' Besides, 'Padua,' not Mantua,' is the place of education for the Civil Law in Italy.'"⁸

I doubt whether Shakspeare thought anything about the "Civil Law in Italy." Certainly a positive fact must be faced: Mamillia came from *Padua*, not *Mantua*, to the defense of Pharicles. Did the poet at first disguise his source—and then forget? (The Lady in *Il Pecorone*, it may be recalled, came from Bologna).

The Anatomie of Loves Flatteries is perhaps even closer related to *The Merchant* than is *Mamillia*. Often it will be observed that the *Loves Flatteries*, after Greene's habit of self-plagiarism, repeats certain features found in the

Mamillia:

(1) The virtue and renown of the heroine, the Lady Sylvia, runs true to form:

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place, as one that had committed a fact repugnant to the law of nature, calling him which was well strooken in yeeres, & yet enamoured, that would frie in affection when he was whollie frozen in complexion, not an old lover, but a filthie foole, and a doting old leacher, and in my judgment they had grear reason so to tearme him. . . . How can a young woman fixe her affection uppon an olde man, who in the night time in stead of talke telleth the clocke, crieth out of the gout, complaineth of the Ciatica, is combed with cramps, and troubled with the cough, having neither health to joy himself nor youth to enjoy her. . . . Sith then Signor Gradasso I count you being so old, not a fit match for my tender youth, I pray you at this time be content to take my nay for an answer. And as for you Jaques which have said so well in your masters behalf, I commend you for a faithful servant, though your reasons were so small effect. I confess Jaques, that nothing sooner delighteth the eye, contenteth the sense, or allureth the mind of a young maiden than beauty. . . . beautie cannot inflame the fancie so much in a moneth, as ridiculous follie can quench in a moment. . . . What joy can that Gentlewoman have whose husband hath neither modestie to moderate his affection, nor manner to behave himself well in companie, who can neither be constant, because he is a foole, nor secret sith he is without sense. . . . So thar Jaques I conclude that your master being somewhat foolish, and I my self none of the wisest, it were no good match: for two fooles in one bed are too many. Now Maister Petronius no longer to feed you with hope, I give you this *A dio*. (I. 289-95).

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These *motifs*, which, according to my theory, were borrowed by Shakspeare for his comedy out of Greene's two novels, are conspicuously absent in the *Il Pecorone*, IV, i.

The Merchant of Venice:

Bassanio. Oh my Antonio, had I but the means
 To hold a rival place with one of them,
 I have a mind presages me such thrift,
 That I should questionless be fortunate.
 (I, i, 173-6).

(5) Each has a woman confidant to advise her about love and the choice of a suitor—Mamillia her nurse, Castilla, Portia her waiting-maid, Nerissa.

(6) The callousness of Portia's Bassanio in his desire for a rich wife parallels the character of Mamillia's villain-hero, Pharicles.

(7) The father in each work desires that his daughter be married for love and love alone.

Mamillia (Gonzaga to Pharicles):

"... rather wishing with Themistocles to marrye my daughter to a man, then to money: desiring likewise his choice to be for her goodness, and not for her goods, least if the knot be knit for wealth, it might be dissevered for Poverty. . . . being willing to marry my daughter, but neyther to buy her an husband, nor to set her to sale, unless the price her love." (I. 108-9).

Your father was ever virtuous; and holy men at their deaths have good inspirations: therefore the lottery, that he hath devis'd in these three chests of gold, silver, and lead—whereof who chooses his meaning chooses you,—will no doubt, never be chosen by any rightly, but one who shall rightly love. (I, ii, 26-31).

(9) Both heroines are ladies from Padua, or seemingly so; for Padua is really Mamillia's home, while Portia assumes the disguise of a young doctor of Padua when she goes to Antonio's rescue. There is a queer mix-up at this point. Shakspeare at first seems to have had in mind to let Portia pretend to come from Mantua. She says to Balthazar, in preparation for the journey to Venice:

... take this letter
 And use thou all the endeavour of a man
 In speed to Mantua. (III, iv, 49-51).

But in IV, i, 116-17, the name of the city is changed:

Duke. Come you from Padua, from Bellario?
Nerissa. From both, my lord.

It likewise becomes Padua in V, i, 246:

Portia.
 Here is a letter; read it at your leisure;
 It comes from Padua, from Bellario.

Shaksperian editors have logically corrected the mistake, preserving the *Padua* reading. Theobald explains the matter: "'Tis evident to any diligent reader that we must restore, as I have done,—'In speed to Padua'; it is there, and not at 'Mantua,' Bellario liv'd. So afterwards, 'A messenger, with letters from the Doctor, new come from Padua.' And again, 'It comes from Padua, from Bellario.' Besides, 'Padua,' not Mantua,' is the place of education for the Civil Law in Italy."⁸

I doubt whether Shakspeare thought anything about the "Civil Law in Italy." Certainly a positive fact must be faced: Mamillia came from *Padua*, not *Mantua*, to the defense of Pharicles. Did the poet at first disguise his source—and then forget? (The Lady in *Il Pecorone*, it may be recalled, came from Bologna).

The Anatomie of Loves Flatteries is perhaps even closer related to *The Merchant* than is *Mamillia*. Often it will be observed that the *Loves Flatteries*, after Greene's habit of self-plagiarism, repeats certain features found in the

Mamillia:

(1) The virtue and renown of the heroine, the Lady Sylvia, runs true to form:

Sylvia . . . grew so renowned for her famous feature almost throughout all Europe, that as they which came to Memphis thought that they had seen nothing unless they had viewed the Pyramides built by Rodope, so the strangers which arrived at Toledo thought their affairs not fully finished untill they had obtained the sight of her. (I, 269-70).

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The heroine of the Italian tale, though wealthy and beautiful, lacks the virtue of Mamillia, Sylvia, and Portia. Her suitors evidently came one at a time (much to their own discomfort), certainly not in droves. There is no father's will; no desire that the lady wed for love alone; no question of the choice of a suitor, unless we take the tests that are imposed upon the lady's lovers as a variation of this theme. This lady of Belmonte has no woman confidante; the man who woos her desires not her wealth so much as her beauty, and he thus is, after all, a more conventional hero than either Pharicles or Bassanio. On going to the rescue of her husband's benefactor, the lady gives out that she is from Bologna, not Padua, as do Mamillia and Portia. There is no review of suitors here; nor is there the symbol of the three caskets, or of the three trees. So many features of Greene's two works present in *The Merchant* and yet absent in the Italian source seem to indicate that *Mamillia* and the *Loves Flatteries* have had a considerable influence upon Shakspeare's comedy.

My thesis that Shakspeare is considerably indebted to Greene's love-pamphlets in the composition of his *Two Gentlemen* and *The Merchant* has by now, I hope, taken on some semblance of a ruth. Especially, it seems to me, three points in the evidence given point to Greene as a source: (1) the appearance of the name *Silvia* in a play containing situations analogous to the *Loves Flatteries*; (2) Shakspeare's use of the *convocation of suitors* and the *lover's choice* in surroundings that hint at a Greene background; and (3) the confusion of *Mantua* and *Padua* as places from which Portia went to Antonio's rescue—a problem that becomes reasonable only when we remember *Mamillia*.

In general this study is the continuation of an effort on my part to prove, for my own satisfaction at least, a notion that I have had in mind for a number of years: that Robert Greene deserves a vastly more important place as a forerunner and mentor of William Shakspeare than has yet been accorded him.

*East Texas State Teachers College
Commerce, Texas.*

A LETTER

New York City,
April 23, 1938.

William Shakspeare, Esq.,
Late of New Place,
Stratford-on-Avon, England.

Dear Mr. Shakspeare:

Today is your 374th birthday, and I want to send you my congratulations, and my best regards, and all kinds of greetings and wishes for Many Happy Returns of the Day. You have, in Centuries past, had a great many Happy Birthdays, and I know you will have more next year, and the year after, and for years and centuries to come. You see, you died when you were comparatively young, only fifty-two years old, and I wonder if you realize how widely people think of you today, three hundred years later?

You haven't seen Stratford lately? You would still recognize it, Mr. Shakspeare, but it has changed a great deal—and largely because of you; so it is partly your own fault. It is no longer the quiet little village with the dirt street through the center, with half-timbered houses, and the sweet Avon softly flowing past. The house on Henley Street where you were born has been made into a Shakspeare Museum, with relics and pictures, and books, and postcards; and motor busses arriving every hour from London. I am not so sure you would like it, Mr. Shakspeare; but maybe you wouldn't mind it. You see, there aren't many actual traces of you left, so the people have to make the most out of the little that they have: The desk that may have been yours when you went to school, the chair you may have sat in, a dish you may have eaten from; but nothing substantial, like a hat with your initials in it, or your Social Security card.

The Church where you were buried is still there, a little way outside of town; a sweet, cool place with a wide

green lawn around it and shady lime trees and the Avon near by. That is a funny inscription they have on the tombstone:

"Blest be the man that spares these
stones

And curst be he that moves my bones."

Did you write that? Or did your friend, the local stone cutter?

That house you bought, New Place, when you were only thirty-two years old but already a prosperous maker of plays,—that isn't standing any more. It must have been a fine place, though, for the lawn around it is green and fertile and the trees are shady. Were you in the habit of walking up and down the paths of the garden in the cool of the evening, and did you recite a little to yourself:

"I know a bank where the wild thyme
blows,

Where oxlips and the nodding violet
grows,"

and did you know inwardly, and for certainty, that the plays you had written and were the success of the hour in London would last longer than their loud applauding audience, longer than you, longer than New Place and its gardens and paths—as long even as the English Language shall be spoken anywhere in this world?

What happened to the manuscripts of all your plays? We haven't found a single one of them. There are seven signatures in existence which we believe to be yours, but not another scrap of your writing anywhere. We have only a few facts of your life; and all that survived of your life's work are three or four small volumes of poems and the uncertain texts of the precious "Quartos" (those little single volumes of some of your plays); and that brave, noble and excellent volume, the First Folio, the first collected edition of your plays which your devoted friends, John Heming and Henry Condell, had printed in 1623, seven years after

your death—that single volume which today is the cornerstone and monument of English Literature.

You see how little we know of you, Mr. Shakspeare. But when we celebrate your birthday today, we have your good works, and we are grateful for the treasures that you have left to us. Plays, yes; for the stage, yes; and yet truth of life is in them. They, in their beauty, support us. They cheer us in this uncertain life. May we carry their memory into *our* everlasting rest, so that *our* everlasting dreams may be sweet.

"The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,

The solemn temples, the great globe itself,

Yea, all which it inherit shall dissolve;
And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,

Leave not a rack behind. We are such stuff

As dreams are made on and our little life

Is rounded with a sleep."

Dear Mr. Shakspeare, believe me to be, on this your Birthday, with renewed assurances of my affection and regard, as always,

Very sincerely yours,

ARTHUR A. HOUGHTON, JR.

New York, N. Y.

REVIEW

ELIZABETHAN FUSTIAN: *A study in the social and political backgrounds of the drama, with particular reference to Christopher Marlowe.* By ELEANOR GRACE CLARK, Ph.D. Vol. I. Oxford Press, 56 East 11th St., N. Y., 1937.

Dr. Clark has assembled in this volume a great deal of interesting information or conjecture concerning one of the striking features of Elizabethan drama, its topical allusiveness. It is the feature which has least well

preserved itself through the centuries; for allusions, which were more or less arch and covert in their own day, easily lost distinct meaning for posterity, and the author deserves the gratitude of her readers for the high ratio of information to conjecture in the examples she has here chosen to discuss. She has selected her material wisely, commented upon it with critical reserve and buttressed her judgments by large quotation from Sir Edmund Chambers and other sound authorities.

In short, the author's purpose in the present volume appears to be the sane and gracious one of showing in regard to Elizabethan dramatic topicality what should be believed rather than what might be imagined; but this volume, she tells us, "is a preface, albeit a long one, of Volume II, which is a discussion of topicality in the plays of Christopher Marlowe."

The term, *Fustian Drama*, is employed in an arbitrary and unauthorized sense. Professor Clark defines "fustian" as "the trick of saying one thing and meaning another, of using an historical or mythological episode as a cloak to cover some personal or political allusion"; and she asserts that though other names were used for this "stock device of the dramatists for avoiding trouble with the censor . . . by far the most popular Elizabethan word for it was *fustian*." It is too bad that this is not so, for we rather need a brief technical label for the thing; but there seems to be no evidence that the Elizabethans ever used "fustian" as a literary term to mean more than what is implied in the New English Dictionary definition, "inflated, turgid, or inappropriately lofty language"; or, as Onions puts it in his *Shakespeare Glossary*, "bombast, rant, gibberish." There is, of course, plenty of precedent for the acceptance of new meanings when they are found to serve a purpose.

TUCKER BROOKE.

Yale University
New Haven, Conn.

January, 1939

Vol. XIV, No. 1

The Shakespeare Association Bulletin



Annual Bibliography of
Shaksperiana for 1938

Has Cassius Been Misinterpreted?

Shakespeare, Man and Artist

"Red Wine and Rennish"

Published by

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 New York

The Shakespeare Association of America aims to unite all the lovers of the poet and to encourage and enlarge the widespread interest in his works. It will serve as a means of communication in the Shakesperian world, reporting what is being done in his honor or service, whether on the stage or in the schoolroom, in club or in university. Its purpose includes co-operation in every enterprise that will be helpful to a knowledge of the man and his works, whether scholarly, educational, or theatrical.

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Other matters relating to the work of the Association should be referred to the Secretary.

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SHAKSPERE AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

(A Classified Bibliography for 1938)

Compiled by

SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM

The following bibliography, based on an examination of the contents of more than 1,400 periodicals and hundreds of books, is a continuation of that published in this BULLETIN in January, 1938. Perfunctory notices of books, blurbs, and reviews which contribute nothing new, have not been noted. The names of female writers are distinguished by a colon (instead of a period) after the initial letter of the baptismal name. The titles of books and pamphlets are printed in italics. If no year is mentioned in connection with an item, '1938' is to be understood. Reviews of books are listed (without a preceding number), without title, immediately after the books themselves. The discussion of a book is indicated by printing the title within single quotes. The abbreviations employed herein, and what they stand for, follow herewith:

A	—Anglia	M	—Magazine
Abstr.	—Abstract	MLN	—Modern Language Notes
Amer.	—American	MLR	—Modern Language Review
Archiv	—Archiv f. d. Studium d. neueren Sprachen	Mo	—Monthly
B	—Bulletin	MP	—Modern Philology
bib.	—bibliography	NQ	—Notes and Queries
BJRL	—Bulletin of the John Rylands Library	NSN	—New Statesman & Nation
Cambr.	—Cambridge	OUP	—Oxford University Press
comp.	—compiler	P	—Press
Col.	—Columbia	pll	—plates
CR	—Contemporary Review	PMLA	—Publications of the Modern Language Ass'n.
CUP	—Cambridge University Press	port(s)	—portrait(s)
Diss.	—Dissertation	p. p.	—privately printed
d	—der, die, das, dem, etc.	PQ	—Philological Quarterly
dt.	—deutsch, deutscher, etc.	Q	—Quarterly
ed., edd.	—editor, editors	QR	—Quarterly Review
ELH	—Journal of English Literary History	R	—Review, Revue
Eliz'n	—Elizabethan	RES	—Review of English Studies
Engl.	—English, Englische	Ru	—Russian
ES	—Englische Studien	SAB	—Shakespeare Ass'n Bulletin
facs., facs.	—facsimile, facsimiles	SAH	—Stratford Herald
f	—für	Sat.	—Saturday
Fr	—French	Sh	—Shakespeare, Shakspeare
fr	—from	Shn	—Shaksperian
Ger	—German	SJ	—Shakespeare Jahrbuch
GRM	—Germanisch - Romanische Monatsschrift	SP	—Studies in Philology
HUP	—Harvard University Press	RCC	—Revue des Cours et Conférences
ils	—illustrated, illustrations	TAM	—Theatre Arts Monthly
J	—Journal	TLS	—Times Literary Supplement (Ln)
JEGP	—Journal of English and Germanic Philology	tr.	—translator
Libr	—Library	Tr	—Transactions
Lit	—Literature	trn	—translation
Ln	—London.	u.	—und
		U	—University
		UP	—University Press
		Xn	—Christian

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10766. 'H': *A Critical Edition of the Second Quarto (1604), With Introd'n & Textual Notes*.—T. M. Parrott & H. Craig, edd.—Princeton UP, pp. x, 248; \$3.50.
- 10766a. Hamlet & Napoleon.—TLS, Dec. 31, p. 827.
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10768. Hamlet u d Totengräber.—J. Frerking.—Dt Zukunft, 17: 9, June.
10769. The case of Hauptmann's *Hamlet*.—A. Busse.—Monathefte f dt Unterricht, 30: 163-70, Mar.
10770. 'Lawful espials.'—H: L. Gardiner.—MLR, 33: 345-55, July.

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10772. *Sh's Influence on the Drama of His Age: Studied in 'H.'*—D. J. McGinn.—New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, pp. xiv, 242; \$3.
10773. Parrott & Craig's ed'n of *H.*—S. A. Tannenbaum; SAB, 13: 189-90, July.
10774. Three notes on *H.*—T. C. C.—NQ; 175: 114, Aug. 13.
10775. The source of the 'mind's eye.'—P. L. Carver.—NQ, 175: 191, Sept. 10.
10776. Notes on *H.*—H. K. Baker.—NQ, 175: 158, Aug. 27.
10777. 'The mind's eye.'—Anon.—NQ, 175: 158-59, Aug. 27.
10778. Sketches for M. Evan's *H.*—TAM, 22: 711, 5 ils.
10779. To Rosencrantz & Guildenstern [*poem*].—F. A. Lea.—Adelphi, 14: 307, July.
10780. Hamlet's love & his melancholy.—R. W. Balmer.—Adelphi, 14: 308-11, July.
10781. M. Evans's 'uncut' *H.*—B. Atkinson; N. Y. Times, Oct. 13 (p. 28), Oct. 30 (p. 9x).—J. M. Brown; N. Y. Post, Oct. 13, p. 15.—R. Lockridge; N. Y. Sun, Oct. 13, p. 30.—S. R. Whipple; N. Y. World-Telegram, Oct. 13, p. 29.—G. Vernon; Commonweal, 29: 20-21, Oct. 28.—J. W. Krutch; Nation, 147: 461-62, Oct. 29.—S. Young; New Republic, 96: 261-62, Nov. 2.
10782. Great individualists: Hamlet & Lincoln.—N. Y. Times, Oct. 22, p. 16.
- 10782a. 'O that this too too solid flesh.'—M. Deutschbein.—SJ, 74: 163-69.
10783. The 'To be or not to be' soliloquy considered.—N. B. Allen.—SAB, 13: 195-207, Oct.
10784. Alas, poor Hamlet!—E. Drew.—Living Age, 355: 150-52, Oct. 17.
10785. M. Evans's Hamlet [not Sh's].—W. Dayton.—N. Y. Times, Nov. 27, 1938, p. 2x.
10786. 'H.'—A. Bellesort.—*Le Plaisir du Théâtre*, pp. 95-102.
10787. Eine neue *H*-Erklärung.—Die Neueren Sprachen, 46: 353-55, Sept.
10788. *H* & the nature of reality.—T. Spencer.—ELH, 5: 253-77, Dec.

Henry IV (H4)

10789. S. B. Hemingway's ed'n of *1H4*.—R. B. McKerrow; MLN, 53: 207-11, Mar.—A. M. Clark; MLR, 33: 64-67, Jan.—H. T. Price; JEGP, 37: 307-11, Apr.
10790. Falstaff & the Plautine original.—J. W. Draper.—Classical J, 33: 390-401, Apr.
10791. A note on *1H4*.—M. A. Shaaber. SAB, 13: 96-98, Apr.
- 10791a. Bob Jones College presents *1H4*.—T. Brahan.—Chattanooga Times, Feb. 27.
10792. 'H4.'—H. B. Charlton.—*Shn Comedy*, pp. 161-207. (Falstaff, pp. 230-32, 261-64, &c.).
10793. M. Evans as Falstaff [*port.*].—TAM, 22: 104, Jan.
10794. Unit set for *1H4* [9 ils].—C. Rogers.—TAM, 22: 534, July.
10795. Falstaff, an Eliz'n glutton.—J. W. Shirley.—PQ, 17: 271-87, July.
10796. Falstaff as *vox populi*.—R. W. Bond.—*Studia Otiosa*, pp. 51-68. See 10487, 10801.

Henry V (H5)

10797. 'The Famous Victories.'—H. B. Charlton.—*Shn Comedy*, pp. 166-69. (Hal, pp. 163-73, 186-88).
10798. The humor of Corporal Nym.—J. W. Draper.—SAB, 13: 131-38, July.
10799. Sh's use of the *Arcadia*.—S. R. Watson; NQ, 175: 364-65, Nov. 19.—J. E. Morris; NQ, 175-409, Dec. 3. See 10801.

Henry VI (H6)

10800. La trilogie de H6.—P. Messiaen. RCC, 39: 137-56, Apr. 30.
10801. Sh & l'histoire d'Angleterre.—P. Messiaen.—RCC, 39: 692-709, Mar. 30.
10802. The place of *1H6* in the York-Lancaster tetralogy.—C. A. Gree.—PMLA, 53: 687-701, Sept.
10803. 'Shake hands with death.'—A. P. Hudson.—MLN, 53: 510-13, Nov.
See 10620, 10801.

Julius Caesar (JC)

10804. Sh resartus.—E. G. Clark.—SAB, 13: 73-76, Apr.
10805. Two scenes fr the modernised *JC* [*ilr*].—TAM, 22: 18, Jan.
10806. Antony's speech & the psychology of persuasion.—H. Lundholm.—Character & Personality, 6: 293-305, June.
- 10806a. Julius Cæsar.—C. Williams.—*Stories of Great Names* (Ln, 1937), pp. 29-65.
- 10807a. Sh u d Antike.—W. Kranz.—bein.—A, 62: 306-20, May.
10807. Sh u d Antike.—W. Kranz.—ES, 73: 33-35, Nov.
See 10499, 10649.

King John (KJ)

10808. Cibber, *KJ*, & the students of the law.—E. L. Avery.—MLN, 53: 272-75, Apr.
- 10808a. *Sh's Attitude towards the Catholic Church in 'KJ.'* (Diss.).—G. M. Greenewald.—Wash'n: Catholic U of Amer., pp. x, 196; bib; \$2.
See 10801.

King Lear (KL)

10809. An emendation of III, vii, 65.—H. Cunningham.—TLS, Mar. 19, p. 183.

10809a. Sh u d Antike.—W. Kranz.—ES, 73: 35-38, Nov.

10810. *KL* at Cambridge.—E. Bowen.—NSN, 15: 478, Mar. 19.

10811. How Jane Bell came to print Q3 of *KL*.—L. Kirschbaum.—PQ, 17: 308-11, July.

10811a. Astrology in *KL*.—R. H. Darby. Engl Studies, 20: 250-57, Dec.

10812. Lear without Cordelia [& J. Milton].—J. M. Murry.—Adelphi, 14: 289-92 (July), 350-53 (Aug.).
See 10449.

Love's Labor's Lost (LLL)

10813. An emendation of II, i, 221-22.—G. M. Young; A. H. T. Clarke; W. A. Jones; J. D. Wilson.—TLS, p. 264 (Apr. 16), p. 280 (Apr. 23), p. 316 (May 7).
10814. '*LLL*'.—H. B. Charlton.—*Shn Comedy*, pp. 45-47, 100-02, 269-76.
10815. Did a 'bad quarto of *LLL* ever exist?—L. Kirschbaum.—JEGP, 37: 501-12, Oct.
10816. 'Temper'd with sighs.'—A. P. Rice.—TLS, Oct. 1, pp. 627-28.

Macbeth (M)

10817. W. C. Curry's *Sh's Philosophical Patterns*.—L. C. Knights.—Criterion, 17: 574-79, Apr.
10818. *M* as a compliment to K. James.—J. W. Draper.—ES, 72: 207-20, Apr.
10819. E. Bloch's *Macbeth*.—A. Cohen.—Music & Letters, 19: 143-48, Apr.
10820. Design for *M*. [*il*].—TAM, 22: 533, July.
10821. *M* at Glyndebourne.—W. J. Turner.—NSN, 15: 911-12, May 28.
10822. *M* and *Paradise Lost*.—G. McColley.—SAB, 13: 146-50, July.
10823. 'Take thee that too.'—W. S. Long.—SAB, 13: 191, July.

10824. Two scenes fr the negro production of *M.*—Ln Studio, 16: 140, Sept.
10825. *Sh & Glyndebourne.*—G. B.—English, 2: 72-74.
10826. 'Time & the hour' in literature.—H. M. Wilson.—Contemporary R, 154: 617-24, Nov.
10827. *Sh Studies: 'M.'*—B: Coles.—N. Y.: R. R. Smith, \$2.50.
See 10879.

Measure for Measure (MM)

10828. The queazie Angelo.—W. P. Barrett; H. W. Crundell.—TLS, Jan. 16, 1938 (p. —), Apr. 23 (p. 280).
10829. 'MM.'—H. B. Charlton.—*Shn Comedy*, pp. 208-65.
10830. A scene from *MM* [il].—TAM, 22: 456, June.
10831. Sense in *MM.*—W. Empson.—The Southern R, 4: 340-50, Sept.

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10832. *England u. d. Judenfrage.*—H. Krieger.—Frankfurt, pp. 116.
- 10832a. A Jewish colony in *Sh's* London.—C. J. Sisson.—*Essays & Studies by Members of the Engl Ass'n* (Oxf.), pp. 38-51.
10833. Jüdisches im u zum *MV.*—H. M. Flasdieck.—Neuphilolog. Monatsschr, 9: 148-60 (Apr.), 182-89 (May).
10834. Shylock: a plea for the Jew.—P. F. van Draat.—Neuphilologus (no. 3), 23: 199-203.
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- 10835a. *Sh u d Antike.*—W. Kranz.—ES, 73: 32-33, Nov.
10836. 'MV.'—H. B. Charlton.—*Shn Comedy*, pp. 123-60.
See 10523.

Merry Wives of Windsor (MW)

10837. J. Crofts' *Sh & the Post-Horses.*—W. W. Greg; RES, 14: 93-94, Jan.
10838. R. Gallis & the witches of Windsor.—E: Seaton.—Library, 18: 268-78, Dec., 1937.
10839. *MW* produced in N. Y.—B. Atkinson.—N. Y. Times, Apr. 15, p. 32.
10840. *MW* [Ru trn].—T. L. Shchepkinoi-Kupernik, tr.—Moscow, 1937, pp. 135 (Directing comments by N. M. Gorchakov).
See 10487, 10798.

A Midsummer Night's Dream (MND)

10841. The date of *MND.*—J. W. Draper.—MLN, 53: 266-68, Apr.
10842. [An insertion?] in *MND.* N. B. Allen.—SAB, 13: 121-22, Apr.
10843. Some earlier examples of the rhetorical device in *Ralph Roister Doister.*—J. R. Kreuzer.—RES, 14: 321-23, July.
10844. 'MND.'—H. B. Charlton.—*Shn Comedy*, pp. 100-22.

Much Ado (MA)

10845. The name 'Seacole.'—J. R. Moore.—NQ, 174: 60-61, Jan. 22.
10846. 'MA.'—H. B. Charlton.—*Shn Comedy*, pp. 277-97.

Othello

10847. Was Othello an Ethiopian?—F. Baldensperger.—*Harvard Studies & Notes in Philol & Lit*, 20: 3-14.
10848. 'O.'—H. Geoghegan.—Carnegie M, 12: 24-26, Apr.
10849. *O* at the Odéon—R de Paris, July 15, pp. 460-64.
10850. M. Ollivier's *Iago.*—J. Bridie.—NSN, 15: 405, Mar. 12.
10851. *O* at the Old Vic.—R. Mortimer.—NSN, 15: 287, Feb. 19.

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10853. B. H. Newdigate's ed'n of *The Phoenix & the Turtle*.—J. B. Leishman.—RES, 14: 341-43, July.
10854. *The Phoenix & the Turtle*. (With an Intro'd'n).—G. Bullett, ed.—Ln: Pear Tree P, 10s.
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Richard II (R2)

10855. Richard II's 'last parliament'.—G. Lapsley.—Engl Historical R, 53: 53-78, Jan.
10856. R2: Notes bibliographiques & plan d'étude.—A. Koszul.—B de la Faculté des Lettres de Strasbourg, 16: 113-17, Jan.
10857. Bob Jones, Jr., produces R2 in Cleveland.—T. Brahan.—Chattanooga Times, June 2.
See 10499, 10644, 10801.

Richard III (R3)

10858. D. L. Patrick's *The Textual History of 'R3'*.—O. J. Campbell; MLN, 53: 391-94, May.—H. T. Price; JEGP, 37: 428-31, July.—W. W. Greg; Library, 19: 118-20, June.
10859. Sanford's revival of R3.—W. Van Lennep; M. Summers.—TLS, p. 296 (Apr. 30), p. 316 (May 7).
10860. R3 and *Twelfth Night* on the west coast [2 ils].—Theatre Arts Mo, 22: 480-81, July.
10861. R3 staged by J. Fehling.—Theater d Welt, 2: 119-21, Feb., 4 ils.

Romeo and Juliet (R&J)

10862. 'Full of his repertoire'.—D. W. Thompson.—MLN, 53: 266-72, Apr.
10863. The first quarto version of II, vi, & IV, v, 43 ff.—H. R. Hoppe.—RES, 14: 271-84, July.
10864. An approximate printing date for Q2.—H. R. Hoppe.—Library, 18: 447-55, Mar.
10865. Friar Laurence.—H. K. Baker.—NQ, 175: 567-68, Nov. 19.

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10868. The problem of the *Sonnets*: fresh interpretations.—TLS, p. 334, May 14.
10869. *The Sonnets; Lover's Complaint; The Phoenix & Turtle*. (With an Intro'd'n).—W. Thomson, ed.—Oxford: B. Blackwell, pp. viii, 200; 12s. 6d.
10870. Sh & Wm. Hughes.—A. J. A. Symons; A. Douglas; A. R. Cripps.—TLS, p. 353 (May 21), 379 (May 28), 417 (June 18).
10871. W. Thomson's book on the *Sonnets*.—W. J. Lawrence; Spectator, May 6, p. 818.—T. C. K.; Birmingham Post, May 17.—V. H. R.; Country Life, May 28.—W. Thomson; Spectator, May 20, p. 916.—The Scotsman, May 23.—W. B. Kempling; Stratford Herald, May 20.—S. Jeffrey; Liverpool Echo, Apr. 26.—O. E.; Liverpool Daily Post, May 18.—C. D. F.; Evening Express, Apr. 28.—R. Lynd; News Chronicle, May 20.—I. Brown; Observer, May 20.—H. B. Charlton; Manchester Guardian, May 13.—W. E. W.; Hawick Express, Apr. 5.—The Nottingham Guardian, June 23.—The Madras Mail, June 11.—F. S. Boas; Drama, 16: 151-52; July.—S. A. Tannenbaum; SAB, 13: 188-90, July.

10872. Sonnet 29 interpreted.—S. A. Tannenbaum.—SAB, 13: 188, July.

10873. Sinnesänderung u Bildvertiefung in Sh's Sonetten.—W. Schmidt.—A, 62: 286-305, May.

10874. The dark lady. [A short story].—E. Goudge.—Good Housekeeping, Nov., pp. 28-31, 305-12, 2 ils.
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The Taming of the Shrew (TS)

10875. 'TS.'—H. B. Charlton.—*Shn Comedy*, pp. 75-99.

Tempest, The (T)

10876. Sir Dudley Digges & T.—L. Hotson.—*I. Wm. Sh.*, pp. 203-36.

10877. The staging of III, iii.—J. C. Adams.—RES, 14: 404-19, Oct.

10878. R. G. Howarth's *Sh's* 'T.'—A. Eichler.—ES, Aug., pp. 406-07.

10879. W. C. Curry's *Sh's Philosophical Patterns*.—E. Eckhardt.—ES, Aug., pp. 307-10.
See 10486.

Timon of Athens (Timon)

10880. *Timon* & F. Bacon.—Baconiana, 23: 34, Jan.

10881. Lucian & Boiardo in *Timon*.—R. W. Bond.—*Studia Otiosa*, pp. 75-105.
See 10449

Titus Andronicus (Titus)

10882. J. Q. Adams's facs. ed'n of *Titus*.—R. B. McKerrow.—RES, 14: 86-88, Jan.

10882a. '*Titus*.'—W. Keller.—SJ, 74: 137-62.

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10883. A note for Baconians. [The date

of T&C].—L: B. Campbell.—MLN, 53: 21-23, Jan.

10884. 'T&C.'—H. B. Charlton.—*Shn Comedy*, pp. 222-29, 322-48.

10885. 'T&C.'—A. Bellessort.—*Le Plaisir du Théâtre*, pp. 103-09.

10885a. 'T&C.'—D. A. Traversi.—*Scrutiny*, 7: 301-19, Dec.

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10886. Sir Toby's 'cakes & ale.'—J. W. Draper.—Engl Studies, 20: 57-61, Apr.

10887. 'TN.'—H. B. Charlton.—*Shn Comedy*, pp. 277-99.

10888. Favorski's setting for TN in Moscow.—TLS, Sept. 10, p. 577, il.

10889. Actæon: myth & moralising.—Anon.—NQ, 174: 74-76, July 30.

10890. The melancholy Orsino.—J. W. Draper.—B of the Institute of the History of Medicine, 6: 1020-29, Nov.

10891. '*La Nuit des rois*.'—A. Bellessort.—*Le Plaisir du Théâtre*, pp. 110 ff.

10892. The Lady of the Strachy.—J. E. Morris; NQ, 175: 347-48, Nov. 12.—H. K. Baker; NQ, 175: 411, Dec. 3.
See 10860.

Two Gentlemen of Verona (TGV)

10893. 'TGV.'—H. B. Charlton.—*Shn Comedy*, pp. 23-43.

10894. The 'new' Cambridge *Sh* & TGV.—S. A. Tannenbaum.—SAB, 13: 151-72 (July), 208-23 (Oct.).

Winter's Tale (WT)

10895. Hermione's Statue.—G. C. Taylor.—SAB, 13: 82-96, Apr.

10896. Costume designs for Autolycus [2 ils].—TAM, 22: 502, July.
See 10486.

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10897. D. C. Allen's ed'n of F. Meres' *Poetrie*.—R. B. McKerrow; RES, 14: 88-91, Jan.
10898. Public speech & private speech in poetry.—A. MacLeish.—Yale R, 27: 536-47.
10899. Thoreau and the organic theory in poetry.—F. W. Lorch.—PMLA, 53: 286-302, Mar.
10900. *Play in Poetry*.—L. Untermeyer. N. Y., pp. viii, 118.
10901. Humanisme & Poésie.—A. Du pouy.—R. Bleue, 76: 69-71, Feb.
10903. *Poetry & Its Contemplation: A New Preface to Poetics*.—G. R. Hamilton.—N. Y.: Macmillan, pp. xii, 160, \$2.50.
10904. Le mystère poétique.—P. Trahard.—RCC, 39: 493-505, Feb. 28.
10905. The pursuit of poetry.—J. W. Mackail.—*Studies in Humanism*, pp. 1-43.
10906. *Literature as Exploration*.—L. M. Rosenblatt.—N. Y., pp. xiv, 340.
10907. *Illusion & Reality*.—C. Caudwell.—N. Y.: Macmillan, pp. xiv + 352, bib.
10908. Some roots of Engl poetry.—R. Hillyer.—*First Principles of Verse*, pp. 138-56.
10909. *The Principles of Art*.—R. G. Collingwood.—OUP, pp. xii, 348.
10910. Schönheit u Philosophie d Lyrischen.—F. Lion.—Mass u Wert, 1: 424-56, Jan.
10911. *Poetry & Its Forms*.—M. Long.—N. Y.: G. P. Putnam's Sons, \$2.75.
10912. Poetry & expressionism.—S. Spender.—NSN, 15: 407-09, Mar. 12.
10913. Tension in poetry.—A. Tate.—Southern R, 4: 101-15, June.
10914. The discipline of poetry.—J. P. Bishop.—Virginia QR, 14: 343-56, June.
10915. The art of narrative poetry.—R. W. Bond.—*Studia Otiosa*, pp. 1-17.
10916. *English Poetry*.—J. Drinkwater.—Ln: Methuen, pp. xii, 218; 6s.
10917. *Poetry & Criticism*.—M. Turnell.—Ln: Sands, 2s. 6d.
10918. *An Essay on Critical Appreciation*.—R. W. Church.—Ithaca: Cornell U P, \$3.50.
10919. *The World's Body: Foundations for Literary Criticism*.—J. C. Ransom.—N. Y.: Scribner's Sons, pp. 350, \$3.75.

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10921. Sh in modern dress.—W. W. Gill.—NQ, 175: 186-87, Sept. 10.
10922. Sh on the air.—Amer Libr Ass'n B, 31: 398. July.

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10923. Proverbs & *sententiae* in Sh's plays.—K. Lever.—SAB, 13: 173-83 (Jly), 224-39 (Oct.).

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10924. Convention in Sh's description of emotion.—A. L. Walker.—PQ, 17: 26-66, Jan.

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10925. G. D. Willcock & A. Walker's ed'n of *The Arte of Engl Poetrie*.—H. J. Byrom.—RES, 14: 81-86, Jan.

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10928. 'Raymundus' & W. R.—A. Dav-
enport.—TLS, Jan. 1, p. 12.
10929. W. R.'s last voyage.—C. L.
Ewen.—NQ, 174: 254-56, Apr. 9.
10930. R's *History of the World*.—C.
[H.] Firth.—EJVS (Oxf U P), pp.
34-60.
10931. W. R., Frobisher, & the great
carack of Spain.—J. M. French.—NQ,
174: 327-30, May 7.
10932. W. R. as poet & philosopher.—C.
F. T. Broke.—ELH, 5: 93-112, June.

RANDOLPH, T.

10933. Problems in *The Drinking Acad-
emy* & its ms.—F. T. Bowers.—Hunt-
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pp. 20-21, il.

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10936. Der religiöse baggrund for Sh.—
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10937. *The Marian Exiles: A Study in
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See 10518, 10581, 10599, 10808a.

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10940. *Otello*. [Ru.].—A. L. Sokolovski,
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10943. An amateur performance of *H*.—
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10944. *Moscow Rehearsals*.—N. Hough-
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10945. *Tragedies* [Vol. I: *Othello, An-
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See 10840, 10888.

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10946. J. Hall's *The Discovery of a New
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SHIRLEY, JAMES

10947. The authorship of the dramatic
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37, Feb.
See 10772.

SHORTHAND

10948. The 3d (1600) edition of Bales's
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10949. A. H. Bill's *Astrophel*.—TLS, Jan. 29, p. 71.—C. Hobhouse; Spectator, Feb. 4, pp. 237 & 239.
10950. Laudatory verses to P. S.—B: Siebeck.—TLS, Feb. 26, p. 140.
10951. New poems by P. S.—B. M. Wagener.—PMLA, 54: 118-24, Mar.
10952. P. S. at Bartholomew Fair.—S: R. Watson.—PMLA, 54: 125-28, Mar.
10953. M. S. Goldman's *P. S. & the Arcadia*.—C. B. Millican.—RES, 14: 206-09, Apr.
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HAS CASSIUS BEEN MISINTERPRETED?

By DAVID KLEIN

"**M**UST I endure all this?" implores the outraged Cassius. "All this? Ay, more!" has been the relentless answer. Time seems to have set no limit to what Cassius must endure. Not only has he generally been considered the villain of the play, but every once in a while a commentator startles us with a fresh discovery of some specific variety of turpitude. Thus, Mr. Percy Simpson finds him to be theatrical. To be sure, now and then, an interpreter comes forward with a good word for the wretch, but the praise thus given is apt to be of the faint variety that damns. What the traditional attitude has been may be inferred from the most recent statement of the case, made by a secondary school teacher, in a periodical conducted by and for secondary school teachers—in other words, those to whom is entrusted the molding of literary judgments. In the May, 1936, issue of *High Points*, published in New York, in an article on the teaching of *Julius Caesar*, we read this:

"The second type [previously described as those self-seekers who find their political careers nipped in the bud] is found in Cassius, a politically ambitious revolutionary, anxious to rid Rome of Caesar for his own personal advantage . . .

When we regard Cassius as the shrewd self-seeker, which he actually was under the guise of being an idealistic opponent of the evils of the regime, we cannot help bringing to light his modern analogues, the Capones, and the Schultzes, who, like Cassius, employ dull-witted henchmen to carry out crimes which they plan, and who indulge in all the clever subtleties of the criminal mind. It is interesting to watch Cassius, who could easily have earned a comfortable living in 1935 by conducting a course in "How to consummate successful conspiracies in 10 easy lessons."

When we find Cassius identified with the Capones and the Schultzes, is it not time to come to his rescue and call a halt to such nonsense? What Shakspeare intended Cassius to be is no mystery. The material for judging him is all there in the play, plain as can be, and the interpretation of the material encounters little difficulty. How so distorted a view of one of Shakspeare's noblest characters could ever have been adopted and fostered, is puzzling,—but not inexplicable. Before I offer my explanation I shall analyze

the data that Shakspeare gives us for the formation of a judgment.

To begin with, everybody in the play, except Cæsar, thinks well of Cassius. When Cæsar confides his misgivings concerning Cassius to Antony, the latter reassures him:

Fear him not, Cæsar; he's not dangerous;
He is a noble Roman and well given.

Nobody doubts Antony's ability to judge human nature. Cassius' slave has respect and affection for him. When Brutus, with a woeful lack of dignity, complains to Pindarus:

Your master, Pindarus,
In his own change, or by ill officers
Hath given me some worthy cause to wish
Things done, undone,

the latter returns the proud retort:

I do not doubt
But that my noble master will appear
Such as he is—full of regard and honor.

Titinius, finding Cassius dead, mourns:

Cassius is no more . . .
The sun of Rome is set! . . .
Brutus, come apace,
And see how I regarded Caius Cassius.

And when Brutus arrives, he exclaims:

The last of all the Romans, fare thee well!
It is impossible that ever Rome
Should breed thy fellow.

There is no ambiguity about these utterances. They prove Cassius to be a noble character. If there is anything in the play to prove that he is an unscrupulous, envious, self-seeking politician, there is a bald inconsistency—there is something wrong with the play.

Of course, Cassius has his faults. Cæsar tells us that he loves no plays, and hears no music, and seldom smiles—serious offences, surely; but do they make him out to be a bad man? Puritans are guilty of these offences—and saints might be. Brutus was not altogether free from them. They may be corollary to an uncompromising sincerity, such as is implied in Cassius' challenge to Brutus:

Were I a common laughèr, or did use
To stale with ordinary oaths my love
To every new protester; if you know
That I do fawn on men and hug them hard
And after scandal them, or if you know,
That I profess myself in banquetting
To all the rout, then hold me dangerous.

Cæsar also complains of Cassius that—

He thinks too much: such men are dangerous;
. . . he reads much;
He is a great observer and he looks
Quite through the deeds of men.

We admire men who think much, and read much, and can see through the deeds of men to their motives. It is Cæsar, not Cassius, that is here arraigned. He has reason to fear such a man.

What can we infer from Cassius' conduct? Let us follow him through the play. We are introduced to him when he attempts to persuade Brutus to join a conspiracy which he has already organized, whose object is the assassination of Julius Cæsar. He proves to be a shrewd manipulator of men, and at the end of the interview we are sure that Brutus will join.

We next see him on the eve of the assassination. He there rises to heroic proportions. There is a cataclysm in nature, and he feels himself in harmony with the furious forces thus set loose. He goes about the streets with his breast bare, in defiance of the thunderstorm. He is convinced that the "strange impatience of the heavens" proves that the gods have made his cause their own. His alertness is again in evidence. He recognizes Casca by his voice and Cinna by his gait, and he succeeds in winning a new recruit in Casca, at this, the eleventh hour. Taking this new recruit along, he makes his way with his fellow-conspirators to Brutus' house, where Brutus formally joins them. At that moment Cassius drops into a subordinate position, deferring in everything to the new leader, Brutus, even when the latter's ruling is contrary to his own better judgment. Nevertheless, it is not long before he is called back, at least for a moment, to seize the helm to save their cause from going on the rocks. The first few minutes following

the assassination constitute, of course, an extremely critical period—perhaps the most critical in the story. How does Brutus measure up to the crisis? Does he behave like the leader of a great cause, the success of which now hangs in the balance, or like the man who has just murdered his friend—"a dreadful thing," as he himself calls the act? The answer is that he behaves like the man who has just murdered his friend. When Metellus advises "Stand fast together," Brutus exclaims, "Talk not of standing"—and remains standing. Presently Trebonius re-enters with the report that—

Men, wives and children stare, cry out and run
As it were doomsday—

—and Brutus resigns himself to utter despair:—

Fates, we will know your pleasures!
That we shall die, we know; 't is but the time
And drawing days out, that men stand upon.

Cassius, realizing how fraught with danger is this state of mind, promptly seeks to use Brutus' own thought to minimize the seriousness of the assassination.

Why, he that cuts off twenty years of life
Cuts off so many years of fearing death.

Brutus snatches at the suggestion, and elaborates it with the eagerness—and the simplicity—of a child:—

Grant that, and then is death a benefit:
So are we Cæsar's friends, that have abridg'd
His time of fearing death.

Stirred from his apathy, Brutus calls to his companions to stop and bathe their hands in Cæsar's blood, besmear their swords, walk to the market place and cry

"Peace, freedom and liberty!"

Whereupon Cassius exclaims:

How many ages hence
Shall this our lofty scene be acted o'er!

This is the speech that prompted Mr. Percy Simpson to declare: "It is not the only passage in which Shakspeare has given a touch of pose, of theatricality to the character of Cassius." Mr. Simpson assumes here a novel position. It is commonly held that it is Brutus who is given the touch of pose, in contrast with Cassius. Mr. Simpson has failed to take into consideration the occasion and the pur-

pose of the speech. The course of action recommended by Brutus has more than a mere touch of pose and theatricality, but his mind is now traveling in a safe direction; Cassius seeks to encourage him in his present train of thought. It happens that he has miscalculated, and touched the wrong chord; for what Brutus is impressed with is the difference, not the similarity, between the image painted by Cassius and the present situation. In the former the assassination was merely make-believe—"sport"; whereas in the latter Cæsar was really dead. To recover the ground lost, Cassius hastens to urge the impression which that play-acting would make upon posterity. It would bring glory to the memory of Brutus and his companions. They would be called "the men that gave their country liberty." When, finally, the ever-ready Decius comes to the rescue with his question, "What, shall we forth?", Cassius answers decisively:

Ay, every man away.
Brutus shall lead; and we will grace his heels
With the boldest and best hearts of Rome.—

thus making a desperate effort to shake Brutus out of his daze and brace him up.

Presently we see him making a vain attempt to prevent Brutus from permitting Antony to speak to the people. Brutus, of course, knows better and insists on the fatal move, so that the next time we see them together their nerves are frayed by impending disaster, and we have the quarrel scene, in which Cassius at last gives vent to his pent-up feelings and tells Brutus to his face that he does not know how to manage things. When Antony calls them flatterers, the indignant Cassius exclaims:

Now, Brutus, thank yourself:
This tongue had not offended so today
If Cassius might have ruled.

After the quarrel Cassius learns of the death of Portia, and is horror-stricken by the news.

Cassius' affection and regard for Brutus is again brought out on the battle-field. When Octavius declares that he "was not born to die on Brutus' sword," Cassius calls him "a peevish schoolboy, worthless of such honor." Their final parting (V, i, 93-126) is memorable.

Cassius' next appearance is his last, and in it both his

manliness and his nobility of soul are made manifest. He enters carrying the ensign:

Cassius. O, look, Titinius, look, the villains fly!
Myself have to mine own turned enemy:
This ensign here of mine was turning back!
I slew the coward, and did take it from him.

He sends Titinius on a mission—apparently to his death. That is more than Cassius is willing to outlive.

O coward that I am, to live so long,
To see my best friend ta'en before my face!

He acts the Roman's part and falls on his sword.

I submit that the man who emerges from these lines and situations in a noble, high-minded character. How then, could so unfavorable a view of Cassius come to prevail? A popular proverb gives us a hint of the process. If we give a dog a bad name the hanging becomes a matter of course. Ignoring for the moment the question of how the bad name came to be attached to him, it is evident that once we think ill of him our minds will be closed to contradicting facts, and we shall interpret everything he says and does in the light (or shadow) of our prejudice. For instance, it seems clear to many that what Cassius says to Brutus about Cæsar proves that he is actuated by envy. Does it? To be sure, an actor might read the lines in such a way as to make it appear so; to the modern mind there is nothing reprehensible in showing weakness in a fever, or calling for help when drowning. But a Roman might well be amazed that—

A man of such a feeble temper should
So get the start of the majestic world,

and hold dictatorial power over his betters. Cassius would rather have gone down than have called for help from the man he had challenged. Again, he is accused of installing the anti-Cæsar poison into Brutus' mind. Well, he doesn't. The poison has been there for some time and apparently developed there naturally. From its workings he has been neglecting his friends, and he has been vexed "with passions of some difference." It makes him unwilling to witness the ceremonies in honor of his best friend, Cæsar, and he refuses to go to them even after Cassius urges him to. It is only after Cassius knows Brutus' state of mind that he

launches on his tirades against Cæsar. It is Brutus, not Cassius, who first hints at Cæsar's ambition:

What means this shouting? I do fear the people
Choose Cæsar for their king.

This expression of fear serves Cassius as a starting point, and he proceeds with his so-called "seduction." Before he can come to the point, however, Brutus anticipates him:

What you would work me to, I have some aim:
How I have thought of this and of these times,
I shall recount hereafter.

Similarly, and with a charming disregard of the text, is the famous quarrel scene perverted to represent a conflict between the noble, long-suffering Brutus and the ignoble, nagging Cassius. What the play really gives us is something very nearly the opposite. Brutus is impatiently waiting for Cassius to arrive in order to give him a calling down for refusing to send him money he had asked for. But Cassius, too, has a grievance; namely, that Brutus has ignored his intercession in behalf of Lucius Pella, and can hardly wait till he come face to face with Brutus to charge him with his offence. He thus takes an unexpected offensive. This offensive, however, he holds only for a few lines. When Brutus advances the opinion that Cassius wronged himself to intercede in such a case, Cassius very properly urges that

In such a time as this it is not meet
That every nice offence should bear his comment.

Brutus does not even deign to answer this excellent argument, but instead hurls a personal insult at Cassius. From this moment, Cassius is on the defensive, writhing piteously under repeated blows, and exercising incredible self-control. When he declares:

You know that you are Brutus that speaks this,
Or by the gods, this speech were else your last—

does anybody doubt that he means what he says? Can there be any doubt what would be the outcome of a physical encounter between the two men? Yet Cassius takes insult after insult, vainly imploring Brutus to desist, and not to presume too much upon his love. That love proves strong enough to keep him from doing that he would be sorry for. Since Brutus maintains the offensive he is in a better position to terminate the quarrel whenever he pleases, and

Cassius gives him several excellent opportunities to do so. But he ignores them and prosecutes the dispute with a grand assumption of self-righteousness, of a kind that is apt to make the possessor blind to himself, and which, indeed, in this case makes it possible for Brutus to declare with a high seriousness:

I did send to you
For certain sums of gold, which you denied me:
For I can raise no money by vile means —

without realizing the baseness of the sentiment which has passed his lips.

When the quarrel finally ends—for no particular reason—except that it had to come to an end some time—Cassius (who has not that exalted opinion of his own goodness which makes Brutus take advantage of every opportunity to speak well of himself) ingeniously assumes that he has been to blame; and Brutus magnanimously forgives him. Shakspeare comprehended the complexity of human nature.

I am aware that I may be accused of deliberately overlooking two passages that do not jibe well with my thesis. One of them is mark Antony's last speech, glorifying Brutus:

This was the noblest Roman of them all:
All the conspirators save only he,
Did that they did in envy of great Cæsar;
He only, in a general honest thought
And common good to all, made one of them.

This statement is definite—no two ways of reading it. But it directly contradicts the rest of the play. So we have to choose. Now, which shall be accepted as authoritative of Shakspeare's intention—the play, or a single short passage which might be omitted without leaving a gap? It is discrepancies such as the one afforded by this passage that men like Fleay and Robertson consider proof of a multiplicity of hands in the writing of the play. But it is not necessary to look upon Antony's encomium as a patch or an interpolation. It would be quite in keeping with Shakspeare's method for him to sacrifice consistency to his immediate purpose. What he was interested in at this point was to wind up his play on an optimistic note, as he customarily does in his tragedies. Antony's remarks smooth the way conveniently

for the closing lines, spoken by Octavius, the last words of which are:

. and let's away
To part the glories of this HAPPY day.

Absorbed in his purpose, Shakspeare mechanically followed Plutarch, in whom we read:

It was said that Antonius spake it openly divers times, that of all them that had slain Cæsar, there was none but Brutus only that was moved to do it as thinking the act commendable in itself: but that all the other conspirators did conspire his death for some private malice or envy that they otherwise did bear unto him.

If Shakspeare became at all aware of the possible incongruity he was creating, he could dismiss it with the thought that Antony would naturally hold the opinion he was expressing, and that the audience had not been called upon to see Cassius through Antony's eyes.

The other passage occurs in the first act, in Cassius' soliloquy following the instigation of Brutus, and offers a less simple problem:

Well, Brutus, thou art noble; yet, I see,
Thy honorable metal may be wrought
From that it is disposed; therefore it is meet
That noble minds keep ever with their likes;
For who so firm that cannot be seduced?
Cæsar doth bear me hard; but he loves Brutus.
If I were Brutus now and he were Cassius,
He should not humor me.

This sounds very much like a confession on Cassius' part that he knows that he is performing an ignoble act. But is that a necessary implication? All he admits is that if he loved Cæsar he could not be brought to join a conspiracy against him. In other words, if he had to choose between love and duty, he would choose love. Are we sure that he is wrong? Love is a fact; duty is a matter of opinion. Brutus chose duty, and we know that he chose wrong. Perhaps the lesson of the play lies in just that.

At any rate, the two passages just cited go a long way toward explaining the opprobrium attaching to Cassius. Near the beginning of the play we seem to be told by Cassius himself that he is a villain, and at the end we are very definitely told by Antony that he is. But the explanation is

not complete. After all, these two passages are overwhelmingly outweighed by the rest of the play. Why, then, should we be so prone to permit the notions inferred from them to color everything that Cassius says or does in the play? The final explanation will be found, I believe, in the normal attitude with which we approach literature. We do not apply the same standards to literature as we do to life. We are prone to mechanical classification of the personalities in literature to a far greater extent than of those in life. This fact is obvious in the case of the very young. The characters in bookdom are apt to line up as heroes or villains. But even in maturity we need to guard against the tendency. In life comparatively few of us would, for instance, confuse political act or opinion with character. But not so in literature. There the term conspirator, for example, would bear an unattractive connotation. A person to whom the title is attached runs the risk of being damned at the outset. His motives must be bad. In this way Cassius is damned, although there is not the slightest evidence that he has any selfish or otherwise dishonorable motives. He wants the conspiracy to succeed; that is all. To that end he seeks to enlist the best men he can reach—a Brutus, a Cicero—men who must inevitably cast him in the shade. But that does not matter to him. It is Brutus who objects to admitting men that might supersede him. Cassius is actuated by the same motives as actuate Flavius, and Marullus, and Brutus. There is really no problem here. The interests of his class are jeopardized, the political ideals that he and his ancestors have cherished are in danger of subversion, and he is so built that he cannot remain apathetic. That is all there is to it. His formation of the conspiracy does not make him out to be either a good man or a bad man. It has no bearing upon his moral make-up. That is revealed in other ways—and I have tried to show what it is. We may find that his standards are not as lofty as those of Brutus, that he is guided by expediency, that he does not scruple to resort to questionable means to bring about what he considers an honorable end, that he loves no plays, hears no music, and seldom smiles—but, when all is said and done, the very head and front of his offending has this extent—and no more.

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'SHAKESPEARE, MAN AND ARTIST'

By B. ROLAND LEWIS

AT last, seven years after his death, appears, from the Oxford University Press, the posthumous *magnum opus* of the late Rev. Edgar I. Fripp—his *Shakespeare, Man and Artist*.^{*} Here are two compendious volumes, totaling nearly a thousand pages, divided into one hundred and sixty-three topics (with many sub-topics—some of which are at times unrelated) literally choked with details and details—and with still more details until there is a veritable welter of *minutiae*. "My endeavour has been (and it is but an endeavour)", writes Mr. Fripp in his *Introduction*, "to see Shakespeare in his context—to study and interpret him in the light of his environment, geographical, domestic, social, religious, dramatic, literary." Here, arranged throughout in chronological order, with the several plays and poems injected at their proper places, is intended to be presented the sum-total background, the *milieu*, whose highly complex factors and potentialities gave birth both to William Shakspeare as a personality and to his literary work. The whole has the tone of delightful reminiscence of the all but garrulous antiquarian whose adoration for his hero is almost dotage rather than the savor of the carefully trained and judicious scholar.

As one reads these two tomes, one gets the feeling that, on huge, long sheets of paper, supported on a corresponding upright wooden frame, Mr. Fripp had posted up before him in panorama for survey, *all* the details and *minutiae* of the entire complex context or background that obtained during Shakspeare's lifetime; and, then, instead of sympathetically studying the entire in its essential significances and judiciously interpreting the context into a first-class biography, he proceeded to pack virtually *all* the details and *minutiae*—essential and unessential—into the two large volumes. Indeed, the work is, accordingly, uneven in quality and, as an organic whole, not sufficiently sustained in its intensity of interpretation to warrant recognition as a new and independent biography of the dramatist. Some-

^{*}Published by the Oxford University Press, 2 vols., \$15.

times page after page (II, Sec. 99) is largely mechanical recital of notes and facts from important original sources but with relatively little interpretation of them to compensate the reader's patience for having read them *in toto*. The work can attract only the specialist and the serious student; it is not for the general reader whose primary concern is "interesting" biography. Shakspeare himself is all but lost sight of in the mass of details, much of which is too far out on the farthest periphera to throw much (if any) light upon the great poet. The many, many threads of context—domestic, social, political, religious, and what not—carried rather parallel throughout the two volumes tend, at times, to confuse the reader—even the trained specialist.

Students familiar with Mr. Fripp's previous volumes—*Minutes and Accounts of the Stratford-upon Avon Corporation* (1921), *Master Richard Quyny* (1924), *Shakespeare's Stratford* (1928), *Shakespeare's Haunts Near Stratford* (1929), *Shakespeare Studies* (1930)—detect immediately that this posthumous *Shakespeare, Man and Artist*—is not altogether a new and independent product. Very much of both facts and the phrasing of his several earlier volumes re-appear in the present book. Hobbies ridden there recur here. Obsessions and biases in his previous endeavors crop out here with equal persistence. And always Mr. Fripp is the Latinist, the ardent Anglican Churchman, the Bible moralist, the antiquarian. Accordingly, here, William Shakspeare is again an "apprentice to a country lawyer" (Fripp holds that the plays can not be understood without this legal material), again the first-hand Latinist, again the favorite of the Inns of Court and of the royal Court, again the musician, etc. John Shakspeare is again the militantly Puritan recusant and even an anti-papist (an obsession with Mr. Fripp) who was a much "marked man". John Shakspeare's militant Puritanism, according to the author (I, p. 79) explains his sudden "*volte face*" in religious and Stratford Corporation affairs and also his probable financial (?) difficulties customarily accredited to the poet's father: "It was surrender to the enemy, whose menace was at their [Puritan and papists] door; and John Shakspeare, incorrigible, prepared to meet the worst. The hedgehog curled up at the approach of the dog." Of course, it is

Fripp himself who is the Latinist, the non-Catholic or even the anti-Catholic, the devoted pro-Anglican Churchman who knows his Latin, his Bible, his Church history, etc., far more fully than do most men in his field. In his enthusiasm for his subject, he accords to John Shakspeare and to William alike more than the facts can be made to justify. He comes dangerously near whitewashing both father and son.

Mr. Fripp is demonstrably (?) certain that both Shakspeare and his work came definitely out of Stratford and Warwickshire—far less out of London—out of the Bible, Ovid, law, medicine, music, etc., all of which were not only the background and *milieu* of the dramatist but the essential Shakspeare himself. According to Fripp, many, if not most, of Shakspeare's plays were written *not* in London but rather in Stratford-upon-Avon—where he frequently stopped off on his company's return to London after a tour into the provinces. The plays were, thus, a definitely Warwickshire-Stratford product and not a London one where the dramatic activities of the Elizabethan period actually centered. Mr. Fripp holds: "Shakespeare did not take a comedy to London this autumn [1595], the usual accompaniment of a second tragedy [*Romeo and Juliet*], more tragic than its fellows" (I, p. 442). "He took [1599] with him, as a work of this summer, his fine tragedy, *Julius Caesar*, and the outline at least of his brilliant comedy, *Much Ado About Nothing*" (II, p. 507). Of *Hamlet*, Mr. Fripp asserts (II, p. 551), "Shakespeare studied it in the quiet of New Place, etc." From Oxford or Cambridge, we may believe, Shakespeare returned to Stratford—to write *Antony and Cleopatra*" (II, p. 673). Indeed, Shakspeare was more at Stratford and New Place than in London;—usually "he went down to London for the Christmas season with, sometimes, a new play." Thus Mr. Fripp gives us a Stratford dramatist, not a London dramatist. However, he does qualify his position a bit by stating (II, p. 617) that "*Measure for Measure* is indeed London. Its thickly splashed mud is that of the metropolis—moral filth and falsehood, sots and "plague" and "angry apes." And (II, p. 655) he declares: "Never was a great work of art less in touch with its im-

mediate context, or more completely the expression of the artist, than *King Lear*."

Shakspere, says Fripp, was essentially a home-loving Warwickshire-Stratford man who only gradually made his full connection with the theatre in London. Definitely, however, his going to London, if one is to accept Mr. Fripp's interpretation, was *via* the Earl of Leicester's men. He went not as an apprentice, for he was "too old for that", but he joined this troupe as a "hired man in the company" (I, p. 211). All too confidently, the author asserts (I, p. 210): "It is more than enough that one day at Stratford, in the summer of 1587, the Earl of Leicester's famous 'jesting player' [Kemp] probably delighted and, in his turn, was taken quite with a 'well-shaped' youth of three and twenty, . . . an old Latin-School boy, able to use his pen in a song or poem, in the revision of an old piece, writing of a new, . . . to enter even as *Johannes Factotum*, the dramatic profession." Fripp asserts further (II, p. 570): "that Shakespeare was an actor as well as a dramatist, and *the producer of his plays* as well as a performer, becomes increasingly obvious as his work proceeds"—this statement under II, Sec. 104, entitled "Shakespeare, Player and *Manager*." Scientific investigators have yet to find the documentary proof that Shakspere was ever a *manager* of his dramatic company or that he assumed the responsibility of producing his plays.

Such recurring phrases as "His Bible, *Metamorphoses*, old Law and new Medicine" (II, p. 722) and "Bible, Ovid, Law, Medicine are in evidence" (II, p. 709) appear as an almost veritable refrain throughout the two volumes. It is because of the supposedly preponderantly recurring legal terminology in the plays that Mr. Fripp holds that young Shakspere was "apprenticed to a country lawyer but he never became a barrister." Yet, from these same plays themselves, the author cites equally as much, at times, in support of Shaksper's supposed familiarity with medicine, school Latin, glove-making, hunting, and a half-dozen other topics. Again Mr. Fripp rides his biases: "'The legal element in the *Comedy of Errors* probably owes something to the revision of the play for performance at Gray's

Inn in 1594" (I, p. 318); "Falstaff (Oldcastle) was brought up on the Bible. No character in Shakespeare knows it better." (II, p. 489); "The play *As You Like It* is simply and broadly religious. Not dogmas and the creeds, but Sermon on the Mount, and the Parables, breathe through it" (II, p. 537); "Medicine is to the fore, with also the inevitable Law and Ovid", he declares (II, p. 743) of *Cymbeline*, and proceeds to cite from this play some thirty-five medical terms; "*Macbeth* is a magnificent morality on this text" (II, p. 747), "And therefore God shall send them strong delusion that they should believe lies," from *Thesalonians* II, 11; *Sonnet CIX*

"Let me not to the marriage of true minds
Admit impediments; love is not love, etc.,"

declares the author, is based on the Form of Solemnization of Matrimony from Queen Elizabeth's *Prayer Book* (1559), "as you will answer at the dreadful Day of Judgment, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed, that if either of you do know any impediment why ye may not be lawfully joined together in matrimony, that ye confess it." Typical of Mr. Fripp's predilection is this: "The Poet draws on his school-life, his father's shop, his youthful sports, his neighbors and their hospitalities, his law, his Ovid, his Bible and Metrical Psalms" (II, p. 554) in writing *Merry Wives of Windsor*.

In fact, to Mr. Fripp, most of Shakspeare's plays were *topical*, often local, moral, and rather predominantly of Stratford and Warwickshire. Sometimes, he avers, the *milieu* is London and the Court. "Stratford again is very much to the fore," he declares (I, p. 141) of *The Taming of the Shrew*. "The fresh air of his loved Warwickshire blows through his work, scattering the clouds and the poison, and bringing health to diseased or sophisticated minds," he says (II, p. 736) of *Cymbeline*. Still more specifically: Holofernes, in *Love's Labour's Lost*, is definitely (I, p. 360) Alexander Aspinall—with the textual play on the "Ass"—the Stratford schoolmaster and not John Florio, not George Chapman. The *Sonnets* are definitely of the Court, of London, of Southampton,—but the "Dark Lady" is but a modern fiction and she does not appear so

identified in the original. Moreover, the "Dark Lady" is an impossible combination of many kinds of women and of varied experiences with life: "she is of the tavern, of the kitchen, of the drawing-room." *Love's Labour's Lost*, to Mr. Fripp (I, p. 349) is an amazing example of Shakspeare's utilizing his first-hand topical knowledge of local history in France, the Court of Elizabeth, contemporary published materials like those of John Lyly, current sonneteering, Elizabeth's personal conduct on occasions, published Court letters, local Stratford happenings, etc., etc., law, music, Ovid, Bible, and what not. Says he (II, p. 748): "Imogen and her royal brothers, Florizel and Perdita, Ferdinand and Miranda, cannot be dissociated from Henry and Elizabeth [son and daughter to James I] and their much-talked-of marriages." For the composition of *The Tempest*, Shakspeare (II, p. 751) "read at least three of them [contemporary published accounts of the disaster to the Virginia fleet in July, 1609], and made use of them in his drama." And (II, p. 580) "*Troilus and Cressida* stands alone among Shakespeare's plays as a piece of scornful irony. . . . It holds up to mockery, in the spirit of Swift and Hogarth rather than Cervantes, the unreal ideals of the prevailing Medievo-Renaissance chivalry. Hence its association with the battles of the theatres. Without personalities it carries the war to the heart of the classical camp." Even the callous plucking out of Gloucester's eyes, says Mr. Fripp, was in keeping with two passages from the Bible currently very much in the mood of Puritanism: (1) *Matthew V*, 28, "Whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart; wherefore if thy right eye cause thee to offend, pluck it out an dcast it from thee," and (2) *Leviticus XX*, 10, "The adulterer and the adulteress shall die." Again these several passages savour rather of the loyal Churchman Fripp than William Shakspeare.

If Shakspeare was, as Mr. Fripp subtly emphasizes, "Man and Artist," it may be well to consider that with mere moralizing, great art has *nothing* to do; but with that which is fundamentally moral in the universe, great art has *everything* to do!

Mr. Fripp makes Shakspeare so essentially an organic part

of Stratford that almost every time a neighbor's child is born and christened William, the poet himself probably stood as god-father. Shakspeare, too, holds (I, p. 373) the author was more than a Latinist: he "knew some Greek and may have read the original [Marianus' *Cupid's Torch* of the fifth century, which Shakspeare turned into Sonnets 153, 154] in *Anthologica Graeca*, 1566, (IV, 63)." Even "The only begetter' of the *Sonnets* is the writer's fantastic style (with an execrable *pun* on *John* I, 14, "the only begetter"), and no doubt means the 'getter' or 'procurer' of the manuscript" (II, p. 715). Again it is Fripp the antiquarian, Latinist, and Churchman, speaking in terms of his own enthusiasm for his hero. And where he declares (II, p. 561), "The Poet dislikes him [Malvolio], as he dislikes Jaques, and allows him as he allows Jaques, to take himself off," it is tantamount to saying that it is Mr. Fripp himself who instinctively dislikes Malvolio and Jaques.

With all his vast wealth of accumulated antiquarian detail and historical lore, most of which may prove valuable to the future historian and biographer, Mr. Fripp, now and then, steps over into fields where his hand is less deft and where his knowledge is far less reliable and something incomplete. In his attempted reconstruction (I, Sec. 58) of the orthography, pronunciation, and phrasing of what to him was the original text, the result approaches the ludicrous—and it would do credit only to an Elizabethan spelling and phrase bungler like young William Henry Ireland in (say) his forged Shakspeare's *Death-bed Farewell Letter* (Douce MS. e. 8, Bodleian). When the dramatist purchased New Place in 1597, opines the author, "Hither, with a just sense of attainment, . . . the Poet brought his family and his "volumes prized above a dukedom," so well-read and so possessed of his own library was the poet. The Droeshout portrait (II, p. 726) is genuine—and Martin Droeshut made his cut from it for the First Folio. Shakspeare, declares the author, played in *The Seven Deadly Sins* (II, p. 712): "Christopher Beeston and Robert Pallant, whom we saw performing with Shakespeare in *The Seven Deadly Sins* in 1592." The stage "plot," at least, of *The Seven Deadly Sins*, belonging to the year 1592, does

not contain the poet's name. Mr. Fripp holds, too, that the dramatist "Shakespeare did not smoke—he never mentions pipe or tobacco" (I, p. 238). By this same token, he never used soap for there are those who assert that he never mentions this article. He holds, also, that the coat-of-arms "applied for in 1576" was "doubtless that" granted in 1596 and "confirmed" in 1599. Indeed the 1599 coat-of-arms document is an ordinary impalement (with nothing unusual and nothing irregular about it) of the Arden arms on the Shakspeare Coat and in no sense a mere "confirmation." He reiterates (II, p. 827) the fallacious "She [Anne Hathaway, his wife] was entitled to a Widow's Dower, etc.," and that she was entitled to her one-third of her husband's estate, etc. Legal scholars now know that such a one-third dower right—as Sir Edward Coke held, "never was the general law, but only obtained in particular places by special custom"—those particular places, in Shakspeare's day, were "the province of York, the principality of Wales, and in the City of London [the London County Council district]." Critical examination of hundreds of English wills from 900 to 1620, a goodly number of which were executed by Shakspeare's own Stratford contemporaries, shows that any such one-third dower devise to a wife is very rarely present in those documents. Nor did the probating court make any corresponding adjustment in favor of the wife when the wills were probated. William Shakspeare's will was perfectly legal, it had no irregularities in it, and Anne Hathaway, his wife, may have been, from a sentimental point of view, *un*-inherited, but she was in no wise *dis*-inherited. Ann Hathaway, neither by common law, nor by statute, was legally entitled to one-third dower. However, Mr. Fripp is correct when he asserts about the oft-cited irregularities of Shakspeare's marriage that "The irregularities do not exist" (I, p. 187, foot-note). With such documentary items as Shakspeare's deeds, mortgages, Belott-Mountjoy suit, Bills of Complaint, will, etc., etc., Mr. Fripp shows less critical acquaintance than with materials of a more historical and religious nature. As an antiquarian in the religious history of Shakspeare's Warwickshire and Stratford, the Rev. Edgar I. Fripp has no equal.

All Mr. Fripp's biases, hobbies, obsessions, personal pre-

dilections, and individual qualifications—and he does, in his way, have masterly qualifications—aside, *Shakespeare, Man and Artist* is a reliable storehouse of invaluable antiquarian lore and critical historical fact. The two volumes are *per se*, not a final biography of the dramatist; not a sum-total and final epitome of critical estimate of his work. The work is exactly what the author, in his *Introduction*, said it is: "the context," the background, the *milieu* which produced both the man Shakspeare and his plays. Its lasting value will not be its critical worth nor its biographical interpretation of Shakspeare. Rather its permanent significance will be its value as a *source-book* for the future interpreter and biographer. As such, to date, it is an epochal work. As such, it is its own excuse for being. No Shaksperian library and no Shaksperian scholar will fail to have these two volumes on his shelves ready at his elbow.

The genial and competent Frederick C. Wellstood, Esq., of the Birthplace Museum, as a labor of love for his life-long friend, saw this posthumous work through the press.

B. ROLAND LEWIS.

*From The Shakespeare Laboratory,
The University of Utah.*

"RED WINE AND RENNISH"

By DANIEL C. BOUGHNER

Sal. There is more difference betweene thy flesh and hers, then
betweene Iet and luorie, more between your bloods, then there is
betweene red wine and rennish.

The Merchant of Venice, III, i, 35-37.

TO the modern reader this is so obviously a color distinction that neither the Furness Variorum nor any of the editions consulted bothers to comment on the passage,¹ except to make clear that in hue Rhenish was white² or light yellowish.³ Did it connote something more to the Elizabethans?

In the first place, Rhenish and other white wines differed from red wines in alcoholic strength. The weak white Rhenish, it is true, found a certain favor with all classes: idle gallants drank it;⁴ Greene's death resulted from a "fatall banquet of Rhenish wine and pickled hearing";⁵ Will Summer, in *Summer's Last Will and Testament*, slaked his thirst with "a rundlet of Renish wine";⁶ the diet of a well-to-do bachelor in 1589 contained Rhenish; and Henry VIII relished it. Its low alcoholic content led social reformers especially to esteem it. Thus Andrew Boorde, who abstained from water on the one hand and strong wines on the other, declared that white wines, among them Rhenish, were good for all men.⁷ This preference, however, clearly ran counter to the prevailing taste of the age,

¹The distinction between jet and ivory does concern the present writer.

²*The Merchant of Venice*, ed. by Charlotte A. Porter and Helen A. Clarke, New York, 1903.

³*The Merchant of Venice*, ed. by A. W. Verity, The Pitt Press Shakespeare, Cambridge, 1901.

⁴Thomas Nashe, *Works*, ed. McKerrow, 5 vols., London, 1910, I, 208.

⁵*Ibid.*, I, 287-88. Samuel Rowlands notes the death of a gallant who feasted on "Oysters and Braue Rennish Wine." *Works*, Hunterian Club, 3 vols., 1880, I.

⁶"Letting of Humours Blood in the Head-Vaine," p. 79.

⁷Nashe, *op. cit.*, III, 246. Will Summer was no drunkard: cf. III, 267.

⁸*Shakespeare's England*, ed. Sidney Lee, 2 vols., Oxford, 1917, II, 134 ff.

⁹J. S. Forsyth, *The Antiquary's Portfolio*, 2 vols., London, 1825, I, 195. Claudius thus had a royal precedent for his addiction to Rhenish. (*Hamlet*, I. iv. 10).

¹⁰Boorde, *The fyrst Booke of the Introduction of Knowledge*, ed. Furnivall, EETS, Extra Series, No. X, 1780, p. 75.

for although white wines were in great demand, the stronger the drink, the more it was desired.¹⁰ Moralists praised cider and perry likewise, because no human stomach could hold enough of them to make its owner really drunk.¹¹ And indeed, these liquors resembled Rhenish in more ways than in alcoholic content, for Nashe sighed over the amount of cider in Rhenish wine in his day,¹² and John Taylor, the water-poet, boasted that the addition of sugar to cider gave to the men of Gloucestershire a drink that they "may without blushing . . . parallel . . . with the glory of the Rhine!"¹³

Red wine, on the other hand, had established a reputation for excellence at least as early as Chaucer's time: Skeat notes that "the red wine of Gascony, sometimes called 'Mountrose', was deemed a liquor for a lord";¹⁴ and bibulous passages in Chaucer frequently set the white against the "strong wyn, reed as blood."¹⁵ The quality of the two, therefore, differed in respect to their potency, and the superiority clearly lay with the red wine in an age when a beverage was prized in direct proportion to its alcoholic strength.¹⁶

In the second place, Rhenish and other white wines differed from red in their physical properties and physiological virtues. White wine was less hot, "less fumish and less vapourous . . ., and therefore less anyeth the heade" than other wines;¹⁷ and indeed, the physician, William Turner, recommended Rhenish to those disposed to headache.¹⁸ It promoted diuresis. It was good for those who wanted to be slender—"because it nourisheth little." Cogan regarded it as the best wine for students.¹⁹ It was the best wine to

¹⁰William Harrison, *Description of Britaine and England* in Holinshead's *Chronicle*, 1587, ed. Furnivall for the New Shakespeare Society, 1877-78, II, 149.

¹¹R. F. Bretherton in *Englishmen at Rest and Play*, ed. Reginald Lennard, Oxford, 1931, p. 172.

¹²Nashe, *op. cit.*, II, 210.

¹³Taylor, *Drinke and Welcomes*, in *Works*, the Spenser Society, No. 14, II, 1873, p. 4.

¹⁴W. W. Skeat, in his ed. of Chaucer, *Works*, 6 vols., Oxford, 1894, IV, 271.

¹⁵*Canterbury Tales*, A. 635.

¹⁶See above, n. 10.

¹⁷Thomas Cogan, *The Haven of Health*, London, 1589, p. 214.

¹⁸Turner, *A new booke of the natures of all wines*, in *An English Garner*, ed. Arber, II, 187, p. 113.

¹⁹Cogan, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 216.

take on an empty stomach²⁰ and to drink at meals.²¹ Unlike common claret, Rhenish was usually at least a year old before it was used, and if drunk before that time, it was commonly racked. For these two reasons it "has fewer dregs and less terresity or gross earthliness than the Claret wine hath, and therefore breedeth the stone less." Clarets were "of grosser and thicker substance, and hotter of complexion than white Rhenish wine and white French wine be of: therefore they breed the stone more than the latter do."²² White wine was widely used to wash wounds and to make lotions for the face.²³ Lodge records the use of white wine or "pure malmoisie" in a preparation designed as a preventive of the plague.²⁴ Rhenish wine was credited with excellent laxative properties.²⁵ To cure melancholy, Burton says, "the thinnest, whitest, smallest Wine is best, not thick, nor strong."²⁶ Of wine in general, and white wine in particular, Boorde sang the praises in lines that suggest Falstaff's eulogy of sack:

it doth actuate and doth quyen a mans wyttes, it doth comfort the hert, it doth scowre the lyuer; specyally, yf it be whyte wyn, it doth reioyce all the powers of man, and doth nowrysse them; it doth ingender good blode, it doth comforte and doth nourysse the brayne and all the body, and it resolueth fleume; it ingendreth heate, and it is good agaynst heuynes and pencyfulness; it is ful of agylte; wherfore it is medsonable, specyally whyte wyne, for it doth mundayfy and clense woundes & sores. Furthermore, the better the wyne is, the better humours it doth ingender.²⁷

Red wine was to a greater degree than white "whote & drye to tast, fele, & see."²⁸ Unlike white wine, "red and sowerish wines" were good "to bind the body" and "to stop the Flux of the body."²⁹ Red wine and claret nourished more than white wine "because they are soone conuerted into bloud: and especially the redde, for that is hotter than

²¹Boorde, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

²²Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

²³Nashe, *op. cit.*, I, 327 and III, 268; cf. McKerrow's note in IV, 193.

²⁴Thomas Lodge, *Complete Works*, *Hunterian Club*, 4 vols., 1883, IV, *A Treatise of the Plague*, p. 24.

²⁵Thomas Middleton, *Works*, ed. Dyce, 5 vols., London, 1840, I, 468. Cf. Cogan, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

²⁶Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. Dell and Jordan-Smith, New York, 1927, p. 397.

²⁷Boorde, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

²⁸*Early English Meals and Manners*, ed. Furnivall, EETS, Original Series, No. 32, London, 1868, p. 10.

white wine, and nourisheth more than claret."²⁹ This superiority of red wine was a notion of wide currency: Professor Tilley quotes Bartholomew Anglicus to the effect that "(red) wine turneth soon to blood because of likeness that it hath with blood in liquor, savour, and colour."³¹

In the third place, such a remark in the mouth of a man like Salarino was probably meant as praise for red wine and disdain for Rhenish. A good way to insult a man was to sneer at his taste in liquor, and this was the way Nashe chose to disparage Harvey: Gabriel, without the capacity to maintain his part in their quarrel, "hopeth by the intercession of a cuppe of white wine and sugar, to be made friends with his fellow writers." He continues, "It cannot choose but he must of necessitie be a very sore fellow, that is so familiar with white wine & sugar, for white wine, in a maner, is good for nothing but to wash sores in, and smudge vp withered beauty with."³² Weak white wine, thus held in scorn by the hardened drinkers of the day,³³ would lend itself readily to the vocabulary of the contempt of a gay young blade like Salarino.³⁴

To summarize the evidence, a white wine like Rhenish possessed some commendable properties, but red wine was superior to it in alcoholic strength and in the important physiological power of generating blood, and it was favored above Rhenish by the experienced drinker. Such points, moreover, would in all likelihood have been uppermost in the mind of a man of Salarino's nature into whose hands Shylock had adventured on this occasion. These considerations make it seem probable that Shakspeare has here employed a chiasitic construction, equating the red wine with

²⁹Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary*, London, 1617, Part Three, p. 22.

³⁰Cogan, *op. cit.*, p. 214. For the common belief that drinking wine restored blood, see M. P. Tilley, *Good Drink Makes Good Blood*, M.L.N., XXXIX, 153 ff. Cf. P. Ansell Robin, *The Old Physiology in English Literature*, London, 1911, pp. 107-08.

³¹Tilley, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

³²Nashe, *op. cit.*, I, 327. For the medicinal uses referred to, see above.

³³In this connection, cf. the gibe of Salarino's companion Solanio at the notion that such thin old blood as Shylock's should rebel. (*The Merchant of Venice*, III, i. i. 32-33).

³⁴For an account of the Elizabethan and Jacobean gallant, see the present writer's forthcoming article, "*The Drinking Academy and Contemporary London*."

Jessica and Rhenish with Shylock. This chiasmus would have been readily intelligible in the pit because to the London playgoers this distinction was doubtless a commonplace. The antithesis, therefore, is not solely or primarily that of color, but draws a sharp contrast between the rich red blood of the young Jessica and the thin feeble blood of her father.

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“Even Shakspeare, who so suffuses current letters and art (which indeed have in most degrees grown out of him), belongs essentially to the buried past. Only he holds the proud distinction for certain important phases of that past, of being the loftiest of the singers life has yet given voice to. All, however, relate to the rest upon conditions, standards, politics, sociologies, ranges of belief, that have been quite eliminated from the Eastern hemisphere, and never existed at all in the Western. As authoritative types of song they belong in America just about as much as the persons and institutes they depict. True, it may be said, the emotional, moral, and æsthetic natures of humanity have not radically changed—that in these the old poems apply to our times and all times irrespective of date; and that they are of incalculable value as pictures of the past. I willingly make those admissions, and to their fullest extent; then advance the points herewith as of serious, even paramount importance.”—*Walt Whitman.*

A NOTE ON
THE SECOND PART OF KING HENRY
THE FOURTH

By H. E. MCCAIN

IN *II Henry IV* occurs a passage (I, ii, 39-55) which is quite evidently significant of certain economic changes which were occurring during Shakspeare's lifetime, and to which apparently Falstaff did not take kindly. The matter relates to the giving of security. By the time Shakspeare came to write *II Henry IV* the word "security" had acquired a variety of meanings, among which were three which seem to be pertinent to the understanding of the passage referred to. The first of these meanings was (*NED*, sense 2): "Freedom from doubt, confidence, assurance. Now chiefly, well founded confidence, certainly. 1597." The second of these was (*NED*, sense 3): "Freedom from care, anxiety or apprehension; a feeling of freedom from or absence of danger. *arch.* Formerly often *spec.* (now only *contextually*) culpable absence of anxiety, carelessness. 1555." The third meaning, was in general (*NED*, sense 8): "Property deposited or made over, or bonds, recognizances, or the like entered into, by or on behalf of a person in order to secure his fulfilment of an obligation, and forfeitable in the event of non-fulfilment; a pledge, caution;" and, in particular, (*NED*, sense 8, b) "as securing the payment of a debt. 1576." In the latter part of this passage, Shakspeare plays upon all three meanings. Falstaff says (ll. 51-55):

Well, he may sleep in security, for he hath the horn of abundance, and the lightness of his wife shines through it; and yet cannot he see, though he have his own lanthorn to light him.¹

Here the play involves master Dommelton's "confidence" in the faithfulness of his wife, the suggestion that he shall have enough bonds to bed himself upon, and finally the notion that his complacency involves a "culpable absence of anxiety" concerning his reputation. The purpose of this

¹Reference is to *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*, G. L. Kittredge, ed., New York, 1936.

note, however, is to deal more specifically with the expression "sleep in security" and its special significance in the context in which it stands.²

In a sermon composed sometime between 1576 and 1585³ Archbishop Sandys wrote:

Arise at length, arise from sin, and redeem the time past and lost. We have long, yea too, too long slumbered; it is now more than high time to arise, to arise from sleep of error, or sin and of security.

Many are fallen asleep in the blind errors of man's doctrine: many are yet drowned in the dregs of popery, preferring dreams, fancies, lies and fables, before the heavenly doctrine of God's everlasting truth. The cause of this their blindness is ignorance of the scriptures: the cause of their ignorance is the hardness of their hearts. They neither know, they are so ignorant; nor will know, they are so stubborn. When they are exhorted to read, they close their eyes; when to hear, they shut their ears; when to come, they draw back their feet. If the sun shine never so bright, they see it not . . .⁴

Thus he who sleeps in security suffers a kind of blindness which is due to ignorance and stubbornness and he shuts his eyes to the sunshine of truth though it be "never so bright." Sandys then, quoting authorities, continues his argument that man should be wakeful and watchful against temptation, and at length says:

Men are commonly nearest unto peril, both corporal and spiritual, when their minds are furthest from thinking of preventing it. It is written of the people which were in Laish, that because they had no business with anybody, nor any body with them, no man raised any tumult, or usurped any dominion in their land, and the place which they inhabited was good and lacked nothing, therefore they dwelt careless, quiet and sure. Which when the spials sent forth from the children of Dan and once perceived, they made no doubt of conquering the land, but encourgaed their brethren and set them forward: "Be not slothful to go and enter to possess the land. If ye will go, ye shall come unto a careless people: the country is large: surely God hath given it into your hands." (*Judg.* xviii, 9,

²While Schmidt's *Shakespeare Lexicon* does not cite any instance in which *security* means a "culpable absence of anxiety," the other senses noted above are given. Also Schmidt records many instances in which the verb *sleep* denotes "any state of entire repose and quiet, or of idleness and inefficacy."

³*The Sermons of Edwin Sandys, D.D.*, edited by Rev. John Ayre, *The Parker Society*, Cambridge, 1842, pp. xxi, xxii. The sermon was delivered at York and published in 1585. See title page facing xxxii.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 208.

10.) They went up, being only six hundred men, came to Laish, found the people without all mistrust of danger, put them to the sword, and burnt up their city. Their peace bred plenty; their plenty, security; their security, their destruction. . . . Watch therefore, and sleep not in security. Blessed is he that watcheth.⁵

The remainder of the sermon is given to urging man to put on the armour of light." He says:

Let them that sit in darkness, and in the shadow of death, sleep on. But unto us "the night is past." Night in the scriptures is taken for ignorance, the times whereof are now past. The day-star is risen, and hath appeared unto us. Christ, the true light, is come into the world: he that now will walk in darkness is not blind but wilful, and runneth with open eyes to his own damnation. If the light had not come into the world, "if I had not spoken unto them," saith Christ, "they might have pleaded ignorance:" but I have told them the truth . . . (John xv. 22.) . . . "If our gospel be hid it is from them that perish, whom the god," or rather the devil, "of this world hath blinded (2 Cor. iv. 4.) We are in the light: the way of truth lieth plain and open before our faces. Let not us walk now as the children of darkness. For darkness and the night are past."⁶

Though Archbishop Sandys published his sermons in 1585 in London, there is no occasion to venture the thought that Shakspeare had in mind, or even knew of, this sermon. It is intended in presenting the above merely to indicate what was in the air and to suggest what connotations the words "sleep in security" may have had for Elizabethan ears. It seems safe to say that the expression was of religious or ecclesiastical origin, and, reverently conceived, referred to a kind of spiritual blindness, which had its ultimate source in the hardness of man's heart. It was the peculiar affliction of those who had acquired great abundance, and the security which such people came to feel in their plenty, brought upon them destruction. Those who slept in security were in darkness and could not see the light because "the god of this world hath blinded" them.

It appears that Shakspeare has utilized all these connotations as convenient hinges upon which to hang his puns and word-plays. Though Falstaff deals irreverently with

⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 211-212.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 212.

this allusion to the spiritual life, it becomes clear when the nature of the allusion is examined why the horn of abundance is associated with sleeping in security, and why Master Dommelton is blind to the lightness of his wife. At the same time the use of the allusion permitted him once more to drag in the ancient play on the cuckold.

Falstaff is here playing with the ancient jest that deceived husbands wear invisible horns. Lightness is obviously used in a double sense, and the old spelling of lanthorn, which emphasizes the horn sides of an Elizabethan lantern, carries out the jest.⁷

Thus Falstaff's wit here is no "single sol'd jest, solely singular for the singleness." It is stout and double-edged. This husband could not see the horns, not only because they were invisible but also because, sleeping in security, he could not perceive the light.

The Catholic University of America
Washington, D. C.

⁷*The Second Part of King Henry the Fourth*, Samuel B. Hemingway, ed., New Haven, 1921. Note on I, ii, 51-54. One wonders, by the way, just how the "old spelling helped an actor to carry out the jest.

JOHN HEYWOOD AND RICHARD STONLEY

By K. W. CAMERON

ANOTHER friend of John Heywood, maker of interludes, has just come to light in an inscription on the fly-leaf of a presentation copy of Heywood's *Works* (ed. 1), London, 1562, in the Yale University Library. This volume, bearing the catalogue number 1f, H51, a562, reveals the following evidence of early ownership: "liber Ric. Stonley, ex dono Iohis Hayw . . ." (margin trimmed). It would seem that Heywood presented the book to Stonley between the date of publication (1562) and the date of his escape from England (July 20, 1564). It is probable, moreover, that the owner was not Richard Stonlye, husbandman of Hatton, Worcestershire, who died in 1569, or the Richard Stonley of Crick, who died between 1578 and 1589, whose will is listed in the calendar of Northamptonshire and Rutland. The most likely candidate is Richard Stonley (or Stondley), one of the four Tellers of the Exchequer, who was granted his office for life a few months before the accession of Queen Mary.

Apparently this Stonley was born in 1520, the birth year of Cecil, later Baron Burghley. He became a Teller of the Exchequer on Feb. 4, 1553, and, like Burghley, held office continuously under Mary and Elizabeth. In 1559 he prepared a report of the names of the Queen's household who had failed to pay the late subsidy. In it he revealed that the "musicians of all classes" were the chief defaulters. In August (?), 1560, he rendered an opinion on the valuation of base money current in England and proposed a plan for converting it into legitimate sterling. On Sept. 8, 1561, he wrote Sir Thomas Challoner, who was about to leave England as ambassador to Seville, asking his help, while in Spain, in the recovery of money owed to Mrs. Stonley. The success of this agent was the occasion for a letter of thanks to him on October 12 of the year in which Heywood's *Works* appeared. It was signed "From London Leasureless."

As a permanent teller, Stonley seems to have had the chief responsibility in his office. He handled large sums

of money, foreclosed on property, received the proceeds of confiscations, lent money to officials like Sir Thomas Gresham, and paid stipends. By June 27, 1580, however, he began to meet with a series of reverses, because, in a statement of that date, he emphasized the personal losses and the hindrances he had sustained at his post during his 27 years of service. On August 4, 1585, Lord Burghley reported on Stonley's financial predicament and expressed regret that he was "now in case to beg in his old days, being 65 years of age." Exactly one year later Stonley's books showed a shortage of £16,000. This led, doubtless, to the confiscation of most of his property by the Queen on June 8, 1597, to apply on the large debt adjudged against him by the Exchequer court. His wife, Anne, seems to have died before the end of the century. He died in London on Feb. 19, 1600, leaving two daughters: (1) Dorothy Dawtrey, a widow, "aged 40 or more," and (2) Anne, wife of William Heigham, "aged 36 or more."

What can be learned of Stonley's youth? Was he trained in court circles? How and why did he, at the age of 23, secure the life appointment in the Exchequer? An answer to these questions might throw light on his relationship with Heywood, who was 23 years his senior. Stonley might have been a pupil or one of the singing boys during Heywood's first period of court favor. An examination of court papers with this in view might prove fruitful. Whatever the background may be, Heywood doubtless had occasional contacts with the Exchequer concerning property matters, and could hardly escape knowing the chief teller.

*Yale University,
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COMMUNICATION

EDITOR OF THE BULLETIN.

Sir:

PROFESSOR TUCKER BROOKE, to whom I am much obliged for his kind words regarding my volume on Elizabethan Fustian, has appended to his remarks certain strictures concerning what I have stated to be the Elizabethan meaning of the term "fustian." The *ex cathedra* method of flat contradiction is much in vogue in these totalitarian days, but should it be employed by scholars? The fact that the term "fustian drama" has passed out of current usage seems to dispose some persons against the recognition of a 16th century usage which is now obsolete. A candid presentation of the evidence for the Elizabethan meaning of the term "fustian" is herewith respectfully submitted:

The Oxford *Dictionary* gives the following meanings of the noun "fustian": "Inflated, turgid, or inappropriately lofty language; speech or writing composed of high-sounding words and phrases; bombast, rant; *in early use also argon, make-up language, gibberish.*" (The italics are mine.) Of the adjective 'fustian', it gives the following meaning and states that it is now obsolete; "*Made-up, imaginary.*"

In my book entitled *Elizabethan Fustian* I defined the term "fustian" in my own words as follows: "Any jargon or made-up language for which a gloss was required." I then gave several instances from Elizabethan literature in which the word was used in this sense. Several of these instances are also given in the *N. E. D.* Specifically, I cited the following:

1. When in *Doctor Faustus*, Wagner begins to spout Latin to the clown, who does not understand, the latter exclaims, "God forgive me, he speaks Dutch Fustian."

2. When in *Everyman Out of His Humour*, Orange and Clove (who, Cordatus tells us, "are mere strangers to the

whole scope of our play") see that they are observed, Clove says, "Monsieur Orange, yon gallants observe us: prithee let's talk fustian a little and gull them." That is, he will speak in the esoteric language of scholars which none will understand, but which will lead the hearers to "believe that they are great scholars."

3. When Marston, in the *Scourge of Villany*, denounces this habit of esotericism in contemporary literature, he declares that many use the fustian device out of mere fashion, even when they have nothing to hide.

This affectation
To speak beyond men's apprehension,
How apish it is! When all in fustian suit
Is clothed a huge nothing, all for repute
Of profound knowledge, when profoundness knows
There's nought contained, but only seeming shows.

This affectation to speak beyond men's apprehension, whether by a jargon, or a made-up language, or by symbols, or by "seeming shows," was in Elizabethan times, as is obvious from these illustrations, labeled 'fustian.' Some readers recall the "fustian riddle" of M. O. A. I. with which Maria teased Malvolio so outrageously. That is a case where the fustian riddle is still beyond our apprehension.

The Oxford *Dictionary* throws additional light upon the early meaning of the word 'fustian' by offering as a synonym for it the word 'gibberish' in its early but now obsolete sense of "unintelligible, unmeaning." This authority cites two passages from Florio to show that both 'fustian' and 'gibberish' signified, in the 16th century, an arbitrary linguistic disguise. Florio defined *monelle* as a "roguish or fustian word, a word in pedler's French, signifying wenches." He defines *balchi* as "a roguish or gibberish word used for money." Gibberish, like fustian, was, according to the *N. E. D.*, any unintelligible speech "supposed to be of arbitrary invention." This arbitrary invention may, of course, be anything from a patois to a literary fiction. The instances which the *N. E. D.* gives to illustrate this usage are too many to quote here. I must, however, present one or two:

1. Jonson, in the *Alchemist*, IV, ii, says: "Have 'hem up and shew 'hem some fustian booke or the dark glasse."

2. In the Induction to *Cynthia's Revels*, the "third child" declares: "The title of this play is Cynthia's Revels . . . the scene Gargaphie, which I do vehemently suspect for some fustian country."

This last instance, as I have stated in my book, offers the best illustration of the sense in which I have used the term 'fustian'. Just as Gargaphie was a fustian country disguising Elizabethan England, so was Cynthia a fustian character standing for the Queen, and Acteon was a fustian name for Essex.

I hope that my purpose in making this further statement in reply to Professor Tucker Brooke may be construed by him as well as by other scholars as "the sane and gracious one of showing what should be believed rather than what might be imagined" concerning the Elizabethan use of the term 'fustian.'

ELEANOR G. CLARK.

Hunter College
New York.

SHAKSPERE'S VERSE

Prepared for students by

SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM

1. Iambic Pentameter (rising rhythm, 5 feet, unstressed followed by stressed syllable)

"I think / it be / no oth/er but / e'en so"

- Modifications: a) Trochaic feet (stressed syllable followed by unstressed) in first foot of verse or after *cæsura*

"Doom'd for / a cer/tain term / to walk / the night"

"Comes arm/ed through / our watch, /- so like / the king"

- b) Anapestic feet (2 unstressed followed by a stressed)

"Had made / his course / to illume / that part / of heav'n"

- c) Spondaic feet (2 stressed syllables)

"Peace! Break / thee off! / Look, where / it comes / again!"

- d) Pyrrhic feet (2 unaccented syllables)

"With us / to watch / the min/utes of / this night"

2. Trochaic measure (falling rhythm; in songs and speech of supernatural characters)

"When the / hurly / burly's / done"

"Those are / pearls that / were his / eyes"

"Why should / this a / desert / be?"

3. Varied length of verses: monometer ("Indeed!"); dimeter ("Alas, he's mad!"); trimeter ("And kill him in the shell!"); tetrameter ("Certain, men should be what they seem!"); hexameter ("A worth/y pi/oner! / Once more / remove, / good friends"); fourteeners ("When in / the why / and the / wherefore / is nei/ther rhyme / nor reason").

4. Word modifications for metrical purposes:

- a) Contractions: e'en, ta'en, where (whether), 'fore, 'gainst, 'scape, near (nearer), med'cine, bea'utious, gent'man, sev'n, or (other), o'er, i'th' (in the), sp'rit (spreet), o'th' (on the), by th' (by the), t'us, he'll, This' (This is), ha's (he has).

- b) Expansions: hour (ou-er), fire (fai-er), moon's (moon-es) month's (month-es), year (yee-er), nati'õn, jeal-i-ous, oce'ån (o-she-an), banishéd, (cap(i)tain, sessi'õn, rememb(e)rance

- c) Altered stress: aspéct, exíle, canónize, perséver, revénue, súbdue, cómplete, accéss, madám, Dunsínane, Mílan.

(Normal end-stopped verse: "Oh that / this too / too sol/id flesh / would melt!")

5. Enjambment (run-on lines, unstopped):

"And there / did seem / in him / a kind / of joy

"To hear / of it. / They are / about the / court."

6. Feminine lines (with "double endings"; one or two light syllables at the end of the verse or before the *cæsura*):

"I think / it was / to see / my moth/er's wedding."
And with / him are / the Lord / Aumerle, / Lord Sal/isbury.

7. Light and weak endings (in enjambed lines only, pronouns, auxiliary verbs, conjunctions, prepositions):

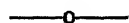
"I do / not much / dislike / the mat/ter *but*
"The man/ner of / his speech,"
"He gives / me as / much of / mine own / as I
Will kneel / to him / with thanks."
"Do not / abuse / my mas/ter's boun/ty *by*
Th' undo/ing of / yourself."

8. Short-line speech ending:

"These hands / are not / more like. /
Hamlet. But where / was this?"

9. Incomplete foot:

"Forward, /not per/manent, /- *sweet*, / not last(ing)"



Masculine rime (single syllable):

"The time / is out / of joint / Oh curs/ēd *spite*,
That ev/er I / was born / to set / it *right*!"

Feminine (double) rime:

"Thoughts black, / hands apt, / drugs fit, / and time / *agree(ing)*
Confed'/rate sea/son, else / no crea/ture *see(ing)*

EDITORIAL COMMENTS

By S. A. T.

TO BE OR NOT TO BE

Unless our memory is serving us a shabby trick, the suggestion has been made several times that Hamlet's best-known soliloquy, that with which his name is so indissolubly linked that the moment one thinks of him one also thinks of it, and *vice versa*, is not an integral part of the play, is an interpolation (by Shakspeare, fortunately), is out of character, and unnecessarily halts the action. The main reasons for this viewpoint are the facts—so it is alleged—that the religious philosophy of the soliloquy is inconsistent with Hamlet's expressed views in other parts of the play, and that Hamlet is now complaining of wrongs from which he seems not to have suffered, as, for example, the law's delay, the insolence of office, the spurns that patient merit of the unworthy takes, and the pangs of disprized love. Here, say these "disintegrators," Shakspeare forgot that he was a dramatist and made Hamlet at this most inappropriate time (when he should have been thinking only of the success of his mousetrap) give expression to the woes of disgruntled middle-class humanity. They even go so far as to suggest that Shakspeare had these melancholy reflections, this indictment of humanity, in one of his note-books; not knowing what to do with it, and realizing that it harmonized with Hamlet's mood, he stuck it into this play. Why he inserted it into a play which was already too long by many hundred lines, and into a part of a play where its presence would be regarded as a tasteless intrusion, these learned and watchful critics do not say. Shakspeare, we think, would surely have been the

first to feel any inappropriateness in the speech and to have refrained from introducing so inharmonious an element into his pet offspring; and we can't imagine Burbage (or Lowin?) complaining of not having a fat enough part. Shakspeare could have waited till he was writing *Timon* or *Lear*.

The woes Hamlet enumerates are not irrelevant to him. The "thousand natural shocks that flesh is heir to" is perfectly in keeping with a pessimistic philosopher who naturally exaggerates his wrongs, grievances, and humiliations. Hamlet has been so thoroughly disillusioned—to him the whole world is an "unweeded garden that grows to seed," things rank and gross possess it merely—that in him the "thousand" seems no exaggeration. That Hamlet is given to running off into generalizations from particulars is one of his best-known characteristics. What has been happening to him is certainly a "calamity,"—his disappointments and disillusionments are the "whips and scorns of time." Claudius, the insulting and domineering king who scolded Hamlet publicly for his "unprevailing woe" and who forbade his return to school in Wittenberg, may very well appear like an "oppressor" and a "proud man" who treats him with "contumely." Ophelia's rejection of his advances, returning his letters and refusing him access to her, may have given rise to the "pangs of dispriz'd love"; the "insolence of office" and "the spurns that patient merit of the unworthy takes" may be another

¹The second quarto's "despiz'd" is, in all likelihood, due to the misreading of a *p* for the gothic *pr* brevigraph, a very common error in Elizabethan literature.

reference to the king's reprimand and to his daring to employ Rosencrantz and Guildenstern to spy on Hamlet; the "fardels" under which Hamlet grunts and sweats are the duty of revenge and the disgust with which he regards sinful humanity; and the "law's delay" may relate to the law of God, not to man-made laws. There is, therefore, nothing in Hamlet's melancholy reflections to justify the criticism that the grievances he enumerates are not personal.

On a previous occasion Hamlet had argued himself out of committing suicide—a thought which he never entertained any more seriously than most of us do when we think our burdens too heavy to bear—by religious considerations; now he is considering the subject from an ethical and philosophical point of view. He will do nothing that is inconsistent with a "noble mind,"—he would not leave a "wounded name" behind him. His reference to a "bourn whence no traveler returns" is no whit inconsistent with his encounter with his father's spirit. The Ghost of Hamlet Senior was an apparition; the spirit of one deceased, not a traveler in a foreign region who "returned" to live out the lease of nature.

But why should Hamlet be meditating on suicide on the day which may serve to remove all his doubts about the nature and veracity of the Ghost? The answer is simple: Hamlet knows that with the play he *will* catch the conscience of the King," that after that there can be no doubts, no hesitation, no excuses for delay. He can't bear the tension of waiting for the outcome of his plot. What will the king do? what will he say? what will the queen say and do? how will it affect her relations with her husband and with him, her son? what will be the effect on the court? what will he

do? The suspense is too painful to endure. Thoughts of suicide are the inevitable result. The most effective and the most certain relief from the seemingly unbearable tension can be found only in death.

It is true, of course, as many have noted, that the soliloquy is somewhat incoherent, that there are gaps in the trains of thought, that it is not a model of logical thinking; but that is exactly what we should expect from a person of Hamlet's temperament in Hamlet's situation.

THE PLATFORM WHERE WE WATCHED

Hamlet is by no means the perfect play. In many respects it is a poor piece of work, stagey, theatrical, improbable, inconsistent, vague and so forth. But the editors and critics, not the author, are responsible for some of its weak spots. One of these objectionable features is the first stage-direction at the opening of the first scene of the first act. The early editions, we need hardly inform readers of the *Bulletin*, do not locate the scenes in this play; the reader was permitted to imagine the Watch and the Ghost's appearance wherever he pleased, but Rowe thought it necessary to instruct him that it was in "An open Place before the Palace"—which is the reading of almost all modern texts and justification for the practice of modern stage productions of the play. Capell, almost invariably vague if not unintelligible, suggested "platform of the Castle." None of these editors seems to have thought it necessary to define the word "Platform." Schmidt defines the word as "a terrace, an esplanade," and is followed by some modern editors. Shakspeare twice refers to the scene as having been on a

"platform" but not in such a way as to make it clear what he had in mind.

That Shakspeare could have meant a terrace in front of the palace seems impossible for several reasons. The ghost, wishing secrecy, would not have appeared so near the palace or in a public place where he might have been seen by almost anyone and caused a panic. In a time of threatening war the watch would not have risked their lives by sitting engaged in conversation all night long on the terrace of the castle. The conversation between Hamlet and Horatio about the kettle-drum and trumpets is more effective if the sounds of revelry reach them from a distance. The scene must therefore be thought of as being in a

place remote from the palace—a wild, deserted spot aloft from which the watch could discover the approach of an enemy. From the definitions of "platform" given in the Oxford Dictionary we may conclude that Shakspeare meant "a level place [even on top of a mountain] constructed for mounting guns in a . . . battery." That Shakspeare thought of the country about Elsinore as mountainous is evident from Horatio's caution to Hamlet about the danger of being drawn to "the dreadful summit of the cliff that beetles o'er his base into the sea." Our stage-direction should therefore read: "A platform on a lofty mountain overlooking a highway."

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The Reflective Element in Falstaff

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THE COTSWOLD GAMER.

Frontispiece of *Annalia Dubrensis* (1638)
as reproduced by Grosart

SHAKSPERE'S PART IN *PERICLES*

By WILLIAM T. HASTINGS

I

IN a recent article¹ I have endeavored to show that the non-Shaksperian parts of *Pericles* were not written by George Wilkins. As a preliminary to my argument it was necessary to make certain assumptions concerning the relation in time of Shakspere's work to that of the other author and concerning the extent and character of Shakspere's contribution. To these related questions I shall now turn.

II

PERICLES NOT WHOLLY SHAKSPERE'S

After the often pedestrian and stiff lines of Acts I and II of *Pericles* there comes, as many have noted, a sudden exhilarating shock when, with the opening words of the hero in Act III, Scene i, "the full swell of the incomparable Shakespearian verse bursts upon us."² *Pericles* is probably the only play in the accepted canon which thus immediately conveys to the reader the certainty of the presence both of Shakspere and (by contrast) of someone else. Not even the Fletcher-Shakspere conjunction in *Henry VIII* would seem so sure. But the argument for divided authorship³ has been pressed largely on other than stylistic and metrical grounds: the omission of the play from the First Folio; its treating such unpalatable and "un-Shaksperian" subjects as incest and life in a brothel; the wandering story, the loose construction, and the employment of the crude devices of chorus and dumbshow; the faintness of the characterization. These latter impeachments, however, will not stand inspection. The subject matter was not distasteful to the Elizabethans. Criticism of the dramatic technique has

¹"Exit George Wilkins," *S. A. B.*, April, 1936, pp. 67-83.

²Mackail, J. W.: *The Approach to Shakespeare*, 1930, p. 93. Acts I and II have a relatively low percentage of run-on lines and a relatively high percentage of rhymed couplets. In the later acts the proportions are reversed.

³The history of the authorship debate is too complicated to be dealt with here except summarily. For a comprehensive survey see Steinhauser, K.: *Die Neuere Anschauungen über die Echtheit von Shakespeares Pericles*, 1917.

evidential value only if the play is supposed originally Shakspeare's or completely recast by him; and, in any case, is not of great weight, for he has used the chorus elsewhere, and has done great violence to the unities (as in *The Winter's Tale*). The ground of exclusion from the Folio is uncertain.⁴ Nevertheless, the undoubted great disparity of style and versification in the earlier and the later parts of the play lends support to the view, still that of the majority of scholars, that Shakspeare's work is exclusively or almost exclusively to be found in Acts III and V and the verse scenes of Act IV.

Dryden explained the defects of the play as those of inexperience.⁵ A few later critics, seeing this view to be untenable, have supposed it an early play⁶ partly rewritten in his last period. But the stylistic defects of Shakspeare's prentice work were errors of taste—excessive or misplaced lyricism or flashing quips or flowing rhetoric—not such dullness as still remains in *Pericles*. Nor can the feebler passages be explained as corruptions of a Shaksperian original, or improvisations by a "reporter," for the vicissitudes of the text have not obscured at all the Shaksperian character of the poetry of the later acts.⁷ Almost no modern critics, in fact, have tried to claim the whole play for Shakspeare.

⁴Not by Shakspeare? But it *is*, at least in part. Only partly by Shakspeare? But other plays commonly thought to be of divided authorship are included. Copyright difficulties? Possibly, yet the original edition was a theft. Overlooked by the editors? But the play was still decidedly popular in 1623.

⁵"Shakesper's own Muse her *Pericles* first bore,

The Prince of Tyre was elder than the Moore." Prologue to Ch. Davenport's *Circe*, 1684.

⁶The metrical statistics for Acts I and II are not unlike those of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *The Comedy of Errors*, and *Richard II*.

⁷We do not, it is true, know what was Shakspeare's earliest manner. It is conceivable that he had a pre-Lylyan, pre-Marlovian, pre-lyrical vein, traces of which are to be discerned in *1 Henry VI*, *A Comedy of Errors*, and *Two Gentlemen of Verona*. It is barely possible that *Pericles*, plainly phrased in stiff pentameters, the first heir of Shakspeare's invention, might be corrupted into the bathetic passages of Acts I and II. Also it may be noted that Shakspeare's early acquaintance with the Apollonius story has been argued from the similarity between it and the *Ægeon-Æmilia* plot in *The Comedy of Errors*. But until there are more facts to build upon, the conjecture need not be seriously entertained.

III

PERICLES THE RESULT OF SHAKSPERE'S REVISION OF A PREVIOUS PLAY

If it be agreed that there are at least two "hands" in this play, in what relation do they stand to each other? How is the work combined? In 1864 Fleay, following the lead of Delius, popularized the view that the main text of Acts I and II was by George Wilkins, the brothel scenes in Act IV and the choruses by William Rowley, and the remainder of Acts III to V by Shakspeare. Later critics have retained this convenient division of the play, however they may have disagreed as to who the authors were, what parts of the play they wrote, and how the division of authorship came about. Most later critics have not escaped, either, from the influence of false assumptions about Wilkins's novel⁸ and unnecessary assumptions about the date of *Pericles* which early became widespread. They have variously conjectured: (1) that Shakspeare worked in active collaboration with one or more others; (2) that the incomplete play of another dramatist (supposedly Wilkins) was turned over to Shakspeare to finish or that the incomplete play about Marina by Shakspeare was turned over to others (Wilkins and Rowley) to finish; (3) that Shakspeare wrote a play that was later vulgarized by another; (4) that Shakspeare took up a complete play by another dramatist and revised and rewrote it.

(1) Active collaboration between Shakspeare and another dramatist is highly improbable. There is no clear instance of such collaboration by him, except in the very special circumstances of the probable collaboration with Fletcher in *Henry VIII* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. That in the plenitude of his power Shakspeare would join forces with so inferior a collaborator as the supposed joint-author of *Pericles* is unbelievable. There would seem to be no reason for it, and it would seem likely to be contrary to Shakspeare's wishes. Furthermore, Shakspeare's habit in collaboration, if it may be inferred from the Shakspeare-Fletcher plays, was to set the pace and tone and outline the

⁸See "*Exit George Wilkins?*" *loc. cit.*

characters by writing the opening scenes; *Pericles* does not show this.

(2) It is improbable that the play was done piecemeal, one person beginning and dropping it (or having it taken away from him) and another completing it. If George Wilkins, for example, had made a bad start in a play¹⁰ and it was transferred to Shakspeare, it is improbable that the confessedly unsatisfactory work of Wilkins would have been preserved by Shakspeare. The contrary theory that Shakspeare did the Marina story, without the brothel scenes, and that Wilkins or Wilkins and Rowley completed it is a product of Victorian "niceness." Not only would the Marina story by itself not make a play, but as comparison with the source story shows, both preliminary action and the brothel scenes are essential parts of the whole.¹¹ In fact, if Gower's poem and the play be read together, the conclusion is inescapable that the whole play in its original form was shaped out of the poem at one time: first, a passage condensed and paraphrased in a Gower chorus, then a portion expanded into the dialogue and action of the first Act, then a passage paraphrased in the second chorus, then expansion into drama, and so on.¹²

(3) The theory that a Shaksperian play was vulgarized by some inferior dramatist is absurd. Plays were often revised, and sometimes vulgarized. But there is no evidence of more than very minor touching up of Shakspeare's plays by later hands and none while he was actively connected with the theatre. The King's men were too sensible to see an advantage in vulgarizing Shakspeare; even if Shakspeare himself would have assented.

¹⁰Cf. the conjecture of Chambers: ". . . he took up the silly piece which George Wilkins had been allowed to begin for the King's men in his absence [from illness], and put in the latter end of it the beautiful idyll. . . ." (*Shakespeare: A Survey*, 284). In *William Shakespeare* (I. 526) he conjectures that "there was an earlier play," and that "a new version was written by Shakespeare and another."

¹¹Deighton, K.: *Pericles*, 1907, p. xxiv.

¹²Compare, for instance, Gower, ll. 543-633, with *Pericles*, I. iv., 84-108 and Chorus of Act II; Gower, ll. 954-1140, with the Chorus of Act III and its relation to the following scene; Gower, ll. 1222-1372, with *Pericles*, III, iii, iv, IV Prologue and Sc. i (in the play the order of events is inverted in III, iii, iv.).

(4) The only tenable view is that Shakspeare worked over a completed play. This he had previously done many times and it was presumably a congenial task. The difference between this and previous plays is that we have here a complete rewriting only of the last three acts. Evidence that *Pericles* is partly revised and partly rewritten from a complete play is to be found in (a) some Shaksperian passages in the first half of the play and (b) some probable vestiges of the old play (not eliminated in rewriting) in the parts which in the main are assignable to Shakspeare.¹³ Coleridge's explanation of the circumstances may be correct:¹⁴ "At first he proceeded with indifference, only now and then troubling himself to put in a thought or an image, but as he advanced he interested himself in his employment . . ."

It has also been suggested that Shakspeare, being attracted to the project by the story of Marina, lavished his attention on the later portion of the story, revising the first two acts only enough to make them tolerable.

IV

WHAT PART OF THE PLAY IS BY SHAKSPERE?

In a sense the whole play is Shakspeare's, since he must assume responsibility for the quality of those portions of the previous play which he retained. And more of the play is phrasally his than is even now usually believed—much more than the minimum assigned him by Victorian "idolators." The discrimination of the authorship in detail is, however, necessarily tentative, and can be supported only in part by objective evidence. General literary impressions are subjective and not susceptible of proof; and though often considered valid (as, for instance, in allotting Act III, Scene 1 to Shakspeare), they will often carry little weight in the face of a contrary hypothesis. The problem is not unlike that confronting Hector when he would slay that part of Ajax' "commixtion" which was Greek and spare that which was borrowed from "my sacred aunt."

¹³See below, pp. 9-10.

¹⁴Crabb Robinson's *Diary*, I. 198; under date of Dec. 2, 1810.

Among objective tests the metrical statistics show a sharp difference in versification between Acts I and II, and Acts III to V:¹⁵

	% short lines	% split lines	% rhyme	% fem. endings	% run-on lines	No. light endings
Acts I-II . . .	7	3	24	16	13	6
Acts III-V . .	13	15	4	28	26	26

Not too much should be argued from these figures. They cannot be taken at their face value, because of the highly hypothetical character of the reconstructed text. Moreover, if any Shaksperian passages do occur in the first two Acts—as they certainly do—the figures are vitiated by them to some degree. Nor can metrical tests be used to segregate such short Shaksperian passages; statistics are of very limited value for anything shorter than an act.¹⁶

Other evidence not purely subjective—similarities of situation, of character conception, of diction, and “parallel pasages”—will have some relevance to the problem.

(1) The main text of Acts III, IV, and V—excluding the brothel scenes (IV, ii, v, vi) and the three speeches by Gower which by modern editors are classed as “scenes” (IV, iv, V, ii, V, iii, end)—has, with very few reservations, been regularly allotted to Shakspeare. Fleay and some others reject the vision of Diana in V. I, 241-52, just as many reject the vision in *Cymbeline* and the Juno-Ceres passage in the *Tempest*. But there is every reason to suppose that the Elizabethans approved of bringing gods and goddesses, fairies and devils, and disembodied spirits upon the stage along with men;¹⁷ and stylistically the passage is Shaksperian. For these scenes as a whole there is no need to

¹⁵My figures. The percentages (except the short-line %) are based on the total number of full pentameter lines, exclusive of the choruses.

¹⁶Chambers: *William Shakespeare*, I, 221.

¹⁷Greene's *James IV* and *Friar Bacon*; Marlowe's *Faustus*; Peele's *Arraignment of Paris* and *Old Wive's Tale*; Shakspeare's *Midsummer Nigh's Dream*, *Hymen in As You Like it*, his witches, his ghosts, the oracular utterance from Apollo in *The Winter's Tale*; and Heywood's *Age* plays.

assemble proofs: the cadence, the phrasing, the verse statistics all match the plays of 1606-10.

(2) The brothel scenes are by Shakspeare. Formerly they were rejected by the critics; but Brandes, Raleigh, Deighton, Thomas, Boas, Chambers, and some others now assign them to Shakspeare. It would seem that there never should have been a doubt. The rejecters argue that they are vulgar and unworthy of Shakspeare; that he would not have written or countenanced such scenes. But in *Measure for Measure* and *2 Henry IV*, we have comic handling of similar materials, and there is in the other plays widespread comic recognition of vice; the Elizabethan unconsciousness of offence in such themes is shown by their popularity—see Middleton's *Blurt: Master Constable*, Marston's *Dutch Courtesan*, Dekker's *Honest Whore* (like *Pericles* exhibiting virtue in a brothel), Heywood's *The Royal King and the Loyal Subject*, etc. In *Pericles*, moreover, these scenes are central in the drama, essential to the climax of the admittedly Shaksperian story of Marina. The brothel incidents are in the original story, were certainly in the original play, and Shakspeare took them over and made them his.

Nearly all the dialogue of the brothel scenes is in prose and it is more difficult to demonstrate the authorship of prose than of verse. But there are here plentiful signs of Shakspeare. The proprietors of the brothel are drawn with his humorous, not satirical, touch; their simple pride in their profession is like that of Abhorson, the executioner, in *Measure for Measure*: their logic is the typical logic of the Shaksperian clown. The witty phrasing and the quibbles which follow through from sentence to sentence are not matched outside Shakspeare. No one but Shakspeare could have put in the mouth of the Bawd such phrases as her retort to Marina's cry of distress ("Diana, aid my purpose!"), "What have we to do with Diana?" or her scornful protest at the girl's ostentatious virtue, "Marry, come up, my dish of chastity with rosemary and bays!"

The comparatively short passages of verse in these scenes

have a Shaksperian character. Fleay, noting the metrical irregularities in IV, vi, 99-128, 171 ff, assigned the verse to Rowley with the rest of these scenes. The irregularity, which is perhaps greater here than is usual in the play, is undoubtedly in part, and perhaps wholly, due to excessive corruption of the text; it may in part be due to incomplete rewriting of the original play, or to a Shaksperian negligence such as is frequent in *Timon of Athens*. But the hand of Shakspeare is undeniable in most of the speeches; and if so, then presumably it touched all. Marina certainly speaks the same language as in her earlier and later appearances; Lysimachus is like his later self; and if, as Deighton believes, Shakspeare reconceived the character of Lysimachus, there can be no question that the latter's language is Shaksperian.

(3) The Gower choruses present a more difficult problem than anything in the last three acts of the play. Most critics have denied Shakspeare any part in them, though Delius believed, as does Thomas, that Shakspeare rewrote some of the later choruses, and Saintsbury assigns them all to Shakspeare. From the point of view of the older theory of collaborating or originally divided authorship complete scepticism regarding the choruses was perhaps natural, but if it is agreed that Shakspeare undertook the revision of a completed play containing chouses, it is necessary to scrutinize each chorus for signs of revision or rewriting.

Five of the eight choruses are substantially in iambic tetrameter couplets but with a few lines of pentameter; the other three are substantially in rhymed pentameters. As Gower's version of the story is written in tetrameters, it seems likely that in the original play the "presenter" (Gower) spoke throughout all eight choruses in that meter. It is natural to infer that the choruses in pentameter have been rewritten, and are by Shakspeare. The sixth chorus, that serving as prologue to Act V, has, it is true, a rhythmical movement less free than that of the dialogue in Acts III-V, perhaps partly because following too closely the original form of the chorus. It has more run-on lines, however, than the

un-Shaksperian verse in the earlier acts, some of the cadences are thoroughly Shaksperian,¹⁸ and Shaksperian phrasal parallels are easily accumulated.¹⁹ The preceding chorus, Act IV, Scene iv, has greater fluency and an equally Shaksperian phraseology; there are close parallels to the chorus formulas of *Henry V* and *The Winter's Tale*.²⁰ The dumbshow is no doubt carried over from the old play and the artificiality of the inscription on Marina's monument, the first lines of which are in tetrameter, suggests that it has been incompletely revised. The third pentameter speech of Gower, the Epilogue (V, iii, 85 ff), is more problematical. The verse is formal and authentic, like the thought; the last couplet but one is even mechanical; and so moralistic a conclusion may seem unShaksperian. Yet the verse has verve, the phrasing in the main is excellent, and the formality may be thought of as appropriate to a masque-like conclusion which binds the whole play together by a moral significance. In dealing with all the choruses it has to be remembered, too, that in them, as in "speeches" interpolated in a dramatic context, Shakspeare habitually employed a formality (no doubt thinking it appropriate to statuesque rôles) in marked contrast to the body of the

¹⁸Cf. ll. 1-7.

¹⁹Cf. (a) "Deep clerks she dumbs" (1, 5).

"Where I have come, great clerks have purposed¹
To greet me with premeditated welcomes;
Where I have seen them tremble and look pale,

And in conclusion dumbly have broke off . . ."

M.N.D., V, i, 93-99.

(b) ". . . and with her neele composes
Nature's own shape, of bud, bird, branch, or berry,
That even her art sisters the natural roses.
Her incle, silk, twin with the rubied cheery . . ." (ll. 5-8).
"We, Hermia, like two artificial gods,
Have with our needles created both one flower,

. So we grew together,

Like to a double cherry . . ." *M.N.D.*, III, ii, 203-09.

(c) "As goddess-like" (1. 4).
"More goddess-like. *Cymb.*, III, ii, 8.
"Most goddess-like." *W.T.*, IV, iv, 10.

²⁰Cf. (a) "Thus time we waste and long leagues make short,
Sail seas in cockles, have an wish but for't,
Making, to take your imagination,
From bourn to bourn, region to region.
By you being pardoned, we commit no crime . . ."
(ll. 1-5).

plays in which they stand.²¹ Set speeches of narrative or exposition, also, especially when following a source closely, often drop down to a region adjacent to prose.²² There are sufficient Shaksperian traits, then, in these three choruses, and any abnormalities in them may be accounted for in the ways just suggested.

What of the choruses written principally in tetrameters? The rejection of these has been well nigh unanimous: because of the archaisms, the tasteless diction, the wooden verse. This judgment is indiscriminating and as a generalization cannot stand.

If one makes due allowance for the natural formality of "set" speeches such as these, and recognizes that Shakspeare would undoubtedly find himself much more cramped in rhymed tetrameter than in the normal unrhymed pentameter, one may unhesitatingly assign a considerable portion

"For 'tis your thoughts that now must deck our Kings,
Carry them here and there, jumping o'er times . . ."

Henry V, I, Prol., 28-29.

"I, that please some

Now take upon me, in the name of Time,
To use my wings. Impute it not a crime . . ."

W.T., IV, i, 1-4.

(b) "Patience, then . . ." ll. 50).

"Who, prologue-like, your humble patience pray . . ."

Henry V, I, Prol. 33.

"Your patience this allowing . . ." W.T., IV, i, 15.

(c) "Pericles

Is now again thwarting the wayward seas,

. think his pilot thought;

So with his steerage shall your thoughts grow on . . ."
(ll. 9-19).

"Follow, follow!

Grapple your minds to sternage of this navy

. Work, work your thoughts . . ." Henry V, II, Prol. 17-25.

"Heave him away upon your winged thoughts

Athwart the sea." Henry V, V, Prol. 8-9.

²¹See for "speeches" the player's speech on Hecuba, and the play within the play, in *Hamlet*, and the masque interludes in several plays; for formal and even stiff chorus speeches, see *Henry V*, Chorus to Act II, ll. 20-42, and Epilogue; *Troilus and Cressida*, Prologue, and Epilogue (last speech of Pandarus) V, x, 48-57; *Winter's Tale*, Chorus to Act IV.

²²See Canterbury on the "law salique," *Henry V*, I, ii, 35-95; Friar Lawrence's summary of events, *Romeo and Juliet*, V, iii, 231-64.

of these choruses to him. The dull lines of the chorus preceding Act II and the description of the girlish accomplishments of Marina in the lines preceding Act IV are not from the same pen. To go further in a detailed partition of the choruses involves setting up a judgment on personal impressions, but a tentative schedule of Shaksperian passages may be ventured:

Chorus 1 (preceding Act I). Lines 1-16: extensive revision but not complete rewriting. Lines 41-42: these last two lines have no basis in Gower, are in pentameter, and are perhaps a Shaksperian addition. Lines 17-40 are probably not Shaksperian.

Chorus 2 (preceding Act II). This, the poorest of the Gower speeches, may serve to show what they were all like before Shakspeare put his hand to them, and to support the claim that the others are now largely Shaksperian. The archaisms are labored and the phrasing is without a sparkle. It is not by Shakspeare.²³

Chorus 3 (preceding Act III). Lines 1-14 are certainly Shakspeare's, though the substance is to be found in Gower and was presumably in the original chorus. For mood and style, see *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, V, i, 378ff.

The rest of the chorus has vigor of movement and firmness of phraseology and is probably a fairly free revision by Shakspeare, with some archaisms, and perhaps some elliptical constructions, taken over from the original.

Chorus 4 (preceding Act IV). This is the most vivid and flowing of the tetrameter choruses, and represents an independent rehandling of the material by Shakspeare. Possibly a few vestiges of the original chorus remain; *e.g.*, II, 15-16, and the closing couplet, II, 51-52. Lines 3-8, 13-14, 20-35, 37-41, 43-50 have no parallel in Gower.

Chorus 7 (Act V, Sc. ii). All by Shakspeare; note the great metrical freedom and the easy neatness of the phrasing. There are no phrasal parallels in Gower.

²³See R. M. Garret: "Gower in *Pericles*" (*Shak. Jahrb.*, 48: 13) for an un-
plausible attempt to claim all for Shakspeare; this tedious prolixity, in his view, being
in character, part of the "masterly portrait of the man as the Elizabethans conceived
him."

This schedule allots to Shakspeare 151 lines (including seven sporadic pentameters), and to the other author 67 lines (including two pentameters), or 7/10 and 3/10 respectively. The portions here assigned to Shakspeare vary a good deal in fluency and in poetic beauty, but all show aptness of phrasing and compression and vigor of style quite beyond the author of the worst lines; and the best have the unmistakable Shaksperian quality of expression.

The choruses have also been repudiated on the alleged ground that Shakspeare's tetrameter verse is always trochaic, never iambic. Even if one does not press the argument that there is no fundamental distinction between iambic and trochaic meters, this supposed axiom regarding Shakspeare's metrical practice will not survive a scrutiny of his verse. His most common tetrameter line is an intermediate form in seven syllables, both beginning and ending with a metrical stress. Among the lines with four complete feet there are more "iambes" than "trochees." In general it may be said that, although Shakspeare shows a strong tendency to begin the line with a stressed syllable, he handles his tetrameters with considerable freedom, in the interest of variety, and that he uses full "iambes" to a considerable extent.²⁴

Now the meter of the tetrameter Gower choruses is less uniform than is usually assumed, and a tabulation both reveals this variety and supports surprisingly the discrimination of authorship just proposed on literary grounds.

TENTATIVE CLASSIFICATION ON LITERARY GROUNDS

	"Shaksperian	"non-Shaksperian"
Iambic: 1st foot substitute		
trochee	17 (11.2%)	13 (20%)
No. lines	151	67
Pentameter	7	2
Complete trochaic	2 (1.3%)	..
Iambic: feminine ending..	6 (4%)	2 (3%)
Begin and end with stress.	10 (6.6%)	..
Run-on lines	45 (30%)	11 (16%)

²⁴This statement simplifies drastically a somewhat complicated topic to which I hope to return later.

A certain amount of error, each way, in the classification on literary grounds must be assumed, and it must be remembered that the total number of lines is too small for fully significant computation. It is nevertheless interesting to find about double the proportion of substitute first feet and half the proportion of run-on lines in the "non-Shaksperian" group that are found in the "Shaksperian," and ten lines beginning and ending with a stress in the "Shaksperian" group against none at all in the other.

(4) What, if anything, did Shakspeare contribute to Acts I and II? To this, the most difficult question of all, the answer has usually been "nothing." Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch singled out as Shakspeare's a few lines in I, i.²⁵ Deighton conjectures: "Finding that the Antiochus and Simonides stories were worked out in a fairly adequate manner, and feeling little interest in those stories, he was at no great pains to interfere with the original author; though if we may judge from the prose versions, he improved both Acts by compression, and, unless I am mistaken, rewrote in a great measure the first scene of the second Act."²⁶ Thomas,²⁷ the only pro-Shaksperian who has taken the two acts up systematically, scene by scene; on ground of subject matter, general treatment, style, and versification, assigns to Shakspeare I. i. 100-02, 150-71; I. iii (entire); II. i (mostly). Abercrombie,²⁸ speaking of the whole play, declares (without specifications): "were I playing the scientific game, I could detect Shakespeare's hand in it throughout." The "scientific game" is particularly difficult to play here and no thoroughgoing and confident separation of authors can be made. Textual corruptions and intermittent retouchings by Shakspeare seriously impair the value of the metrical statistics; parallels in phraseology and in situations between these acts and the known works of Shakspeare never carry full conviction. Again, one alloca-

²⁵*Shakespeare's Workmanship*, 1917, p. 220; see also Chambers: *William Shakespeare*. I, 220.

²⁶Deighton, K.: *Pericles*, p. xxvi.

²⁷In *Engl. Stud.*, XXXIX, 210-14.

²⁸"A Plea for Liberty of Interpreting"; in *Aspects of Shakespeare*, pp. 242-43.

²⁹For my guess at his character as a poet, see "*Exit George Wilkins?*" *loc. cit.*, p. 75.

tion of particular scenes or passages to Shakspeare or to the second author depends somewhat on who the second author is assumed to be, and upon one's notion of the latter's vein in falsifying and in conceiving situations and characters.²⁹ In *Pericles*, besides, we probably have a unique case of all degrees of reworking within the single play: imaginative recreation, rewriting along lines laid down by the original author, interpolated passages, retouching of lines. In all but the first of these the normal Shaksperian movement and manner will be modified, and the difficulty of positive identification increased. Nevertheless one may venture the attribution of certain scenes, parts of scenes, and isolated lines, to Shakspeare on general literary grounds (the phrasing, the flexibility of the verse, the atmosphere); and possibly one can support the attributions to some degree by more objective tests.

Speaking generally, it may be said that in contrast to the almost complete re-creation of Acts III-V, in the earlier Acts no scene is completely reconceived and rewritten. The nearest approach to "pure Shakespeare" is in the scene between *Pericles* and the fishermen, II. i. This dialogue has a Shaksperian humor, the kindly condescension of *Pericles* is like that of *Hamlet* to the gravediggers, and most of the verse has the Shaksperian ease and vigor.³⁰ Some passages, however, in the latter part of the scene,³¹ seem only partly rewritten. Act II, Scene v, one may guess, illustrates the rewriting of a scene without much recreation and with the retention of some old lines. The preceding chapter in the love story of *Pericles* and *Thaisa* (II. iii), conversely, seems to contain a few definitely Shaksperian lines with a limited and indeterminate amount of retouching. Short passages which strike one immediately as Shaksperian are III, iii, 17-18.

And you are her labour'd scholar. Come, queen o' the feast,—

For, daughter, so you are,—here take your place.³²

and in II, v, (ll. 49-50, 66) variants on *Brabantio* and *Othello*:

²⁹See Thomas for further arguments, pp. 212-13.

³¹Beginning line 126.

³²Cf. *The Winter's Tale*, IV, iv, 67-68.

Thou hast bewitch'd my daughter, and thou art
A villain.

Here comes my daughter, she can witness it.⁸³

In Act I the effort of Shakspeare seems to have been mainly directed to enlivening these talky scenes with bits of brisk action, as in the Thaliard business in Scene i and the beginning and end of Scene iii, the Helicanus-Pericles dialogue of Scene ii, and the arrival of Pericles at Tarsus in scene iv.

It would be tedious to include in the body of this essay further detail of my Shaksperian attributions in Acts I and II. They are listed, with a brief commentary, in a note at the end.⁸⁴ The commentary is hampered by the fact that I have yet to reveal my candidate for the doubtful honor of the original authorship and cannot now do so without begging the question in some degree.

There is a question of minor interest which has not received much attention from the critics: Was Shakspeare or the original dramatist responsible for the changes in the names of the characters? There is slight evidence in favor of ascribing certain changes to Shakspeare:

(1) Shakspeare, it is known, tends to simplify the names found in his sources, to employ Latinized forms, and to replace the unfamiliar by the familiar. In this play the change from Appolinus to Pericles, Hellican to Helicanus, Artestrathes to Simonides, Strangulio to Clean, and Athenagoras to Lysimachus are in accord with his taste.

(2) Marina is in name the elder sister of Perdita, Fidele [Imogen] and Miranda; her name may well have been Shakspeare's invention, replacing the "Thaise" of Gower which now is allotted to her mother. Lysimachus is given the name of the king in the anecdote from Barnaby Riche which is alluded to by Thaliard in a speech⁸⁵ which I ascribe to Shakspeare.

(3) It may not be pushing ingenuity too far to suggest

⁸³Cf. *Othello*, I, ii, 62ff.; I, iii, 60ff., 170.

⁸⁴See below, pp. 83-85.

⁸⁵I, iii, 3ff.

that in a few passages of verse in Acts I and II which have not been recast by Shakspeare there is metrical evidence of a substitution of names. "Appolinus" is a word of four syllables, with the accent on the second syllable; "Pericles" is shorter by the unaccented first syllable. In several instances there is a suggestion that an extra syllable had to be found because of the dropping of "Appolinus." In I. i. "young Prince of Tyre" occurs twice, "the prince of Tyre" once, and "Prince Pericles" four times, the repetition of this last formal title being particularly unnatural. In II, i, 132, "Keep it, my Pericles" may well replace "Keep it, Appolinus"; in II, iii, 81—"A gentleman of Tyre; my name, Pericles"—the meter would be improved by substituting Appolinus and making the line an Alexandrine.⁸⁶ The expansion of Gower's "Hellican" to Helicanus may also be Shaksperian, but in this case the short form "Helicane" is retained generally in Acts I and II, occurring, for instance, once in the prologue to Act II and four times in II, iv. The longer form occurs twice in these Acts, in a passage in I, ii, which I believe reworked by Shakspeare; it is the only form of the name in Acts III-V. The other names provide no metrical clues.

It cannot be shown that Shakspeare's changes in these two Acts were clearly motivated by a desire to strengthen the play as a whole. There was, indeed, little opportunity, except in the matter of characterization, if the original sequence of events was to be—as comparison with the source story shows that it has been—preserved. The figure of Pericles himself may have gained some additional warmth, but Cleon and Dionyza, the other principal characters that reappear in the later Acts, in Act I, Scene iv, are allowed to remain undifferentiated, purely elegiac forms. His purpose seems to have been mainly to brighten the episodes in an episodic narrative.

It is not to be expected that the foregoing partition of the play will commend itself throughout to all readers; and indeed it cannot fail to be incorrect in some degree. I am

⁸⁶Thaisa's speech, ll. 86-89, repeating the biography of Pericles, uses the name metrically in a normal phrase, but the speech is obviously garbled.

rect and hope in the main the details have been worked out reasonably. Some further support for my treatment of the problems of Acts I and II and of the choruses may perhaps be found in a subsequent discussion of the author of the pre-Shaksperian play.

I, 1, 5. "Think death no hazard in this enterprise." The sentiment is like Romeo's in *R. and J.*, II, ii, 76-84.

II. 12-40. Several critics, including Frank Harris and "Q," assign part or all of this passage to Shakspeare, especially II. 12-14, 34-38. Shakspeare was fond of the book-lover conceit; some of the phrases may perhaps be his; metrical fluidity appears in the run-on lines. On the other hand, the lyricism is pretty rather than strong, and the general movement of the passage is not obviously Shaksperian. I doubt if it is his in the main.

II. 91-108. This passage contains several phrases of more condensed force than is usual in Acts I and II. The "blind mole" sentence (II. 100-02) is particularly singled out as Shaksperian; standing out "in startling distinction from its context" (Chambers: *William Shakspeare*, I. 220). The general effect of the speech, however, is, like that of II. 12-40, a doubtfully Shaksperian lyricism. The imagery was used in *Tamburlaine*, II, vi, 1-4:

"What means this devilish shepherd, to aspire
With such giantly presumption,
To cast up hills against the face of heaven,
And dare the force of angry Jupiter?"

It may be of interest to note that in the same speech of King Cosroe appear the lines:

"Some powers divine, or else infernal, mix'd
Their angry seeds at his conception,"

reminiscent of the reference by Antiochus (II. 8-11) to the "senate-house of planets" presiding at the "conception" of his daughter; and, further, that both II. 12-40 and 91-108 have a slight flavor of Marlowe.

My guess is that Shakspeare recast II. 98-108, and to some extent improved the movement of the whole speech. "Poor worm," as a term of commiseration, is applied by Prospero to Miranda in *Temp.*, III. i. 31. There are also some curious parallels of idea, phrase, and rhythm between this speech and two passages in *Timon of Athens*, the second certainly Shaksperian:

"If our betters play at that game, we must not dare
To imitate them; faults that are rich are fair!"
(I, ii, 12-13).

"Ah, when the means are gone that buy this praise,
The breath is gone whereof this praise is made.
Feast-won, fast-lost; one cloud of winter showers,
These flies are couch'd." (II, ii, 178-81).

II. 161-71. The conclusion of the scene is marked by briskness, vigor, run-on lines. This is probably Shakspeare touching up to improve the move-

ment of the action. He may also have endowed Thaliard with the slightly humorous alacrity in murder which is further disclosed in Sc. iii. Thomas assigns to Shakspeare ll. 150-71, but ll. 152-54 at any rate belong to the original author.

I. iii. The opening speech has in general a metrical and poetic character like the passages in Scene i discussed above. The most that can be argued for is a slight revision, with the introduction of a few condensed phrases.

II. 1. 5 may be revised. Cf. *M.N.D.*, I, i, 19: "The pale companion [melancholy] is not for our pomp." Also note that in *Macbeth*, III, ii, 19-20—"Of sorriest fancies your companions making. Using those thoughts . . . "companions" and "Using" stand together in the same senses as "companion" and "used" in *Pericles*.

II. 13-15. The movement of the verse is stiff, but the verbal antitheses are like Shakspeare's.

II. 14-28. These lines have something of the movement and diction of Shaksperian verse. The personifications are like those in the unShaksperian passages in these Acts but seem a little more vivacious.

II. 34-69. The dialogue with Helicanus begins mechanically; but at l. 48 the run-on lines begin to predominate and with the pretended anger of Pericles the talk becomes more natural and trenchant. Such exchanges as ll. 56-58 and 63-69 may be revisions. Malone compares Signior Sooth (I. 44) with Sir Smile of *W.T.*, I, ii, 196. There is no evidence of expansion of the scene as compared with mere touching-up.

I. iii. Thomas says: "I give this scene entire to Shakspeare. The style is firmer and more natural . . ." With this judgment on the whole I agree, but believe the scene is a revision rather than a wholly new, interpolated scene. Lines 21-24 are a survival; but the speeches of Thaliard and such phrases as "unlicensed of your loves" have the stamp of Shakspeare.

II. 13-14 have a Shaksperian turn of phrase.

I. iv. The first 55 lines of this scene seem untouched, but from the entry of the Lord to his exit there is less stiffness and there are probably two Shaksperian interpolations.

II. 63-65 contains the first of these; compare the familiar parallels in *Hamlet*, IV, v, 78-79 and IV, vii, 164-65. Without this passage the speech of Cleon would run metrically:

"I thought as much. Some neighbor nation" . . .

l. 78 expresses a commonplace in terms very similar to the speech of Edgar in *Lear*, IV, i, 2-6.

II. i. For general remarks on this scene, which several critics have assigned to Shakspeare, see above, p. —. More specifically, it may be suggested that the opening speech of Pericles is largely but not entirely rewritten from the old play; that the following dialogue up to line 106 has been almost wholly rewritten but may retain a few phrases from the original; that the rest of the scene retains much of the original, but at least ll. 15-38 and 148-52 are Shakspeare's. Besides the parallel with the *Hamlet*-gravediggers dialogue which has been pointed to my several critics, there is a parallel also with

the scene between Valentine and the outlaws in *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Act IV, Scene i; note especially Valentine's

"Then know that I have little wealth to lose.

A man I am cross'd with adversity;

My riches are these poor habiliments . . ." (ll. 11-13).

II, ii. There is no clear evidence of the presence of Shakspeare in this scene, but ll. 48-59 may be revised, especially ll. 56-57.

II, iii. See the general comment above. Thomas assigns the scene as a whole to Shakspeare, but I disagree. Lines 17-18 are Shakspeare's, and perhaps ll. 15, 16, and 19 have been retouched.

II, iv. Inference is unsafe regarding this badly garbled scene, but it is suggested that Shakspeare retouched ll. 17-22 and is responsible for ll. 41-42 and 48.

II, v. See the general comment above. The scene has been extensively revised, almost rewritten, by Shakspeare. The situation, including the waggery of Simonides, to which some critics take violent exception, was probably taken over from the original without much change. Lines 2-6, 14-23, and 73-88 either are corrupt or were only slightly revised.

Metrical evidence, it has repeatedly and rightly been said, is peculiarly unreliable for *Pericles*. Nevertheless it is interesting to note that Act I, Scene iv, which seems more free from corruptions and from revisions than any comparable passage in these Acts, has a high percentage of rhyme (27%), and low percentages of feminine endings (10%), and of run-on lines (8%). Act II seems to have had more attention from Shakspeare than Act I, and the averages for the whole Act are: rhyme, 21%; feminine endings, 17%; run-on lines, 14%. Act II, Scene v, for which I argued a revision almost amounting to rewriting, has a lower percentage of rhyme (15%) than any other scene of these Acts. But the situation from scene to scene varies so much, the figures in most cases are so much the result of multiple contamination, that even the above very general and incomplete corroboration of the guesses on literary grounds is of slight value.

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THE FENCING BOUT IN *HAMLET*

By SELMA GUTTMAN

MANY attempts have been made to discover exactly how the fencing bout in *Hamlet* (V, ii) would have been presented before an Elizabethan audience. The critics are of two opinions regarding the weapons used. Stage Hamlets ordinarily fence with single rapier and gauntlet, but a few actors, as for example, H. B. Irving,¹ and more recently, John Gielgud and Maurice Evans, have used a left hand dagger as well. Recent criticism, led by Dr. John Dover Wilson,² tends to approve the latter usage although little new data have been added to support this practice. To determine Shakspeare's intention in the matter one must analyze the text of *Hamlet* in detail and must consider it in historical perspective. Hitherto neither of these lines of study has been pursued carefully. It seems advisable, therefore, to consider the problem by dealing in turn with the Elizabethan background, the evidence in *Hamlet* supporting the rapier-and-dagger theory, and the evidence in *Hamlet* supporting the single rapier theory. Such a study will show that in this contest the fencers should be armed with only one weapon—the rapier.

I.

The weapons used in private quarrels during the age of Shakspeare were many and varied. A black-letter tract of 1615 offers the following list:

"In this city [London] there be manie professors of the science of defence, and very skilful men in teaching the best and most offensive and defensive use of verie many weapons, as of the long-sword, back-sword, rapier and dagger, single rapier, the case of rapiers, the sword and buckler, or targate, the pike, the halberd, the long-staff, and others."³

¹E. M. A., "The Duel in *Hamlet*," *TLS*, Oct. 16, 1919, p. 572.

²J. D. Wilson, "Introduction" to G. Silver's *Paradoxes of Defence, 1599*, Shakspeare Assoc. Facsimiles, no. 6, Ln., 1933.—"The Hero at Bay," in *What Happens in Hamlet* (N. Y., Cambridge, 1935), pp. 276-279.—*Hamlet*, ed. by J. D. Wilson (Cambridge, 1934), *passim*.

³Joseph Strutt, *The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England* (Ln., 1845), bk. III, ch. VI, pp. 261-62. For additional lists, cf. Alfred Hutton, *The Sword and the Centuries*, with introductory remarks by Capt. C. G. R. Matthey (1901), p. 285; Randle Holme, *An Academie or Store House of Armory and Blazon* (Ln., 1905), bk. III, ch. XIX, p. 161, col. 1.

Of these, only the single rapier or the rapier-and-dagger could have been employed in the *Hamlet* bout.

Single rapier play was a refinement of the earlier sword-and-buckler combat. The rapier was much longer and narrower than the sword.⁴ Emphasis was placed upon thrusts executed with the point of the weapon rather than with the edge. Thrusts were parried by a left-hand gauntlet,⁵ which supplanted the buckler or shield.

In rapier-and-dagger combat a dagger performed the defensive function of the gauntlet.

"Left hand [gauntleted], left-hand dagger, left-hand sword, or cloak, were all used for the same purpose; to beat aside, or to ensnare, if possible, the adverse rapier. Even Saviolo,⁶ as early as 1595, makes little distinction between them."⁷

The special significance of the dagger, however, lay in that it also served as an additional weapon of attack.⁸ Silver stresses the dangerous possibilities of the dagger in rapier-and-dagger combat: "then presently followeth (vnlesse it please God otherwise to haue it) the stabs with their daggers, wherein there lieth no defence."⁹ Accounts of actual duels show that the dagger, with its sharp point and two sharp edges, was an extremely dangerous auxiliary weapon. An example of its deadly effectiveness may be cited from the report of a duel which took place in 1609:

"They attacked each other, each armed with a rapier and a dagger.

⁴The rapier became so long as to result in a proclamation issued in the Queen's name "to place selected grave citizens at every gate to . . . break the rapiers' points of all passengers that exceedeth a yard in length."

⁵"A glove worn as part of mediæval armour, usually made of leather, covered with plates of steel." NED.

⁶Vincenzio Saviolo, *His Practise. In two Bookes. The first intreating of the usa of the Rapier and Dagger. The second, of Honor and honorable Quarrels* (Ln., 1595), sig. 1 3v: "As farre as I can perceiue, the rules of the single rapier, and of Rapier and Dagger, are al one."

⁷Lee Mitchell, "The Fencing Scene in *Hamlet*," *Philological Quarterly*, 16: 71-73, Jan., 1937.

⁸Saviolo stresses the defensive use of the dagger because he is considering school fencing rather than actual duelling. He repeatedly emphasizes the difference between the two. Yet even in his manual of practice, Saviolo refers to stabbing with daggers: "You may giue him a riuersa uppon his legge with your Rapier, and stabbe him with your dagger in the bodie." "Your enemie entering maye thrust you in the bellie with his Rapier, and giue you a stabbe with his Dagger besides." Saviolo, *op. cit.*, sig. I3 and I3v.

⁹Silver, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

In the first onset, Cheek ran Dutton through the throat with his dagger, close to the windpipe; when Dutton made a pass at him and ran him through the body, while he stabbed him in the back with his poignard."¹⁰

Saviolo admonishes pupil and master to exercise caution even in practice bouts in which the dagger was employed, since:

"the maister often putteth him self in danger . . . and therefore the maister must be respectiue two waies: in sauing him selfe, and not hurting his scholler."¹¹

It is for this reason, probably, that Gaiani says:

"Das Spiel mit dem Dolche [accompanying the rapier] ist nur für den Ernstkampf¹² anzurathen; diese Waffen eignen sich weniger für die Schule und unter Freunden".¹³

Additional evidence to prove that rapier-and-dagger was employed almost exclusively in serious matches is furnished by the record of a conversation preceding a French duel:

"D'Enragues had a dagger besides his sword. Quelus had none. As they were beginning their attack, Quelus observed to him, 'You have a dagger, and I have not.' To which he replied. 'You have done an idle thing in leaving it at home. Are we not met to fight seriously, and not for an ostentatious tilting-match?'"¹⁴

Not only did the dagger increase the danger of the attack, but, being smaller, it lent itself to insidious and treacherous practices. One museum catalogue describes a sixteenth century dagger with grooves that may have served to conceal poison.¹⁵ Saint Victor, describing another collection of weapons, notes:

¹⁰Andrew Steinmetz, *The Romance of Duelling in all Times and Countries* (Ln., 1868), v. I, pp. 173ff. For additional examples, cf. *ibid.*, *passim*; Hutton, *op. cit.*, *passim*; Pierre de Bourdeille, Seigneur de Brantôme, *Oeuvres Complètes* (Paris, 1873), tome 6, *passim*.

¹¹Saviolo, *op. cit.*, sig. F4v.

¹²The frontispiece of *Annalia Dubrensis* (cf. footnote 22) portrays two men engaged in rapier-and-dagger combat. The text does not refer to this sport but alludes to the simulation of dangerous combat and to the use of bated weapons. Such usage has no relevance to the *Hamlet* match. No attempt is made in *Hamlet* to simulate dangerous combat. There is no foundation whatsoever for the suggestion that in *Hamlet* the daggers—if such were used—were bated. Cf. p. 96.

¹³Alfiero Gio. Battista Gaiani, *Arte di maneggiar la Spada a piedi, et a cavallo*, Loana, 1619; Gaiani, *Discorso del Torneare A piedi*, Genova, 1619; summarized in Gustav Hergsell, *Die Fechtkunst im XV. und XVI. Jahrhundert* (Prag, 1896), p. 407.

¹⁴*The History of Duelling in Two Parts containing the Origin, Progress, Revolutions, and Present State of Duelling in France and England* (Ln., 1770), pp. 69-70. Cf. also Brantôme, *op. cit.*, pp. 312-14.

¹⁵Bashford Dean, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Handbook of Arms and Armour, European and Oriental* (N. Y., 1915), p. 75.

"Au XVI^e siècle, la dague . . . devient une arme de duel, terrible et perfide . . . Quelquefois la dague, nue en apparence, recélait en elle un trident; deux petites lames latérales, faisant corps avec celle du milieu, bifurquaient, sous la pression d'un ressort caché dans le talon. C'était la vipère lançant son triple dard. Le musée montre un curieux spécimen de ce stylet à surprise."¹⁶

Rapier-and-dagger combat was in use in England before Shakspeare began writing. According to tradition, Rowland Yorke introduced rapier play into England in 1587,¹⁷ but the rapier and the dagger were popular before this date. Castle, an authority on the subject, says: "The rapier, in fact, came in with the taste for 'cavaliero' style, and may be looked upon as its first outward symbol already in the days of Queen Mary."¹⁸ Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in *Queene Elizabethes Achademy*, written about 1570, recommends a master of defence "who shalbe principally expert in the Rapier and dagger, the Sworde and tergat, the gripe of the dagger, the battaile axe and the pike."¹⁹ In 1583 *The Chronicle of the Corporation of the Masters of Defence* records the award of a Master's Prize to Willyam Mathewes for proficiency in "the longe sworde the back sworde the sworde and buckeler and the rapier and dagger."²⁰

Authorities agree that the rapier remained in use in England until the middle of the seventeenth century. Wilson apparently errs in stating that "the custom of employing daggers in fence had gone out . . . certainly . . . by 1623, when the Folio was printed."²¹ Rapier-and-dagger fence must have remained in use at least until 1638 when *Annalia Dubrensis* was published. Its frontispiece (reproduced in this issue) pictures the various activities engaged in during the Cotswald Games. In its upper right hand corner two

¹⁶Paul de St. Victor, "Le Musée d'Artillerie," *Anciens et Modernes* (Paris, 1886), pp. 79-80.

¹⁷A. F. Sieveking, editor, *Worke for Cvilers or a Merry Dialogue betweene Sword, Rapier and Dagger, Acted in a Shew in . . . Cambridge, A. D. 1615* (Ln., 1904), pp. 26-27.

¹⁸Egerton Castle, "Swordsmanship Considered Historically and as a Sport," *Living Age*, series 7, 24: 801, June, 1904.

¹⁹Sir Humphrey Gilbert, *Queene Elizabethes Achademy*, ed. by F. J. Furnivall (Ln., 1869), p. 7. Sir H. Ellis, *Archeologica*, 21: 506, gives date cited.

²⁰Alfred Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 277.

²¹Wilson, "Introduction," *Paradoxes of Defence*, p. xviii.

men play at rapier-and-dagger.²² Surely, illustration of this exercise would not have been included in the frontispiece of this book if the dagger had gone out of use fifteen years before! Alfred Hutton states that the rapier had been discarded by the reign of Charles II, but he notes the retention of the dagger as an auxiliary weapon. "Backsword [was] used either 'single' or accompanied by the great gauntlet or by a basket hilted dagger" during the Restoration period.²³ Wilson's misconception may be explained by his confusion concerning the early fencing reforms, which affected the longer rather than the auxiliary weapon. The dagger served as a possible additional weapon not only with the rapier but also with the older type of sword and with the short sword of the seventeenth century.²⁴

During this period was rapier-and-dagger preferred to the single rapier? Wilson, answering the question in the affirmative, offers as his sole piece of evidence an engraving of the city of London, made by John Norden in 1600. In it two men are pictured fencing with rapier-and-dagger.²⁵ Surely, this does not constitute proof of the greater popularity of rapier-and-dagger. It merely shows that the latter form of fence was in existence in 1600, a fact that has been proved above. To determine the relative popularity of the two forms of fence, one must turn to contemporary literature. In practically every sixteenth century fencing treatise, the discussion of single rapier precedes that of rapier-and-dagger because

"Man muss von dem Grundsatz durchdrungen sein, dass der Degen die Königin unter den Waffen ist und die Grundlage für die

²²A. B. Grosart, editor, *Annalia Dubrensis or Celebration of Capt. Robert Dover's Cotswald Games*, Manchester, 1877. I am indebted to Dr. S. A. Tannenbaum for calling my attention to this illustration.

²³Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 286. For the use of the dagger on the continent during the 1620's, cf. the accounts of the French duel of Beuvron and Bourteville, 1627, in Hutton, *op. cit.*, p. 169; and *The History of Duelling in Two Parts, containing the Origin, Progress, Revolutions, and Present State of Duelling in France and England* (Ln., 1770), p. 83. For rapier-and-dagger treatises written or republished on the continent during the 1620's, cf. Hergsell, *op. cit.*, pp. 308, 293.

²⁴An illustration depicting "a guard for the short sword and dagger to encounter against the long Rapier and Dagger or else the long sword and Dagger" is found in Joseph Swetnam's *The Schoole of the Noble and Worthy Science of Defence*, Ln., 1617. Reprinted in *Shakespeare's England* (Oxford, 1917), v. II, p. 396.

²⁵Wilson, *What Happens in Hamlet*, p. 280; *Hamlet*, ed. by Wilson, pp. 250-51.

Führung aller übrigen Waffen bildet."²⁶

Saviolo, proponent of rapier-and-dagger combat, acknowledges the greater popularity of single rapier:

"I will first shew you how this ward is good, either to offend or defend, and cheefelye with the single Swoorde and the gloue, which is most in use among Gentlemen."²⁷

A study of Elizabethan plays has not yielded us a single example of a rapier-and-dagger combat which was intended for stage performance.²⁸ This testifies either to the danger of this form of combat or to the greater popularity of the single sword or rapier.

In many Shaksperian and non-Shaksperian plays attacks on the use of rapier-and-dagger are incorporated in the dialogue. In *The Two Angry Women of Abington*, for example, the following observation is made:

"If . . . this poking fight of rapier and dagger will come vp then, then a man, a tall man, & a good sword and buckler man, will be spitted like a Cat or a cunney, then a boy will be as good as a man, vnlesse the Lord shew mercie vnto vs, well, I had as lieue be hanged as liue to see that day."²⁹

In *The Return from Parnassus*, Ingenioso rails against a *miles gloriosus*:

"Why, who coulde endure this post put into a sattin sute, this haberdasher of lyes, this brachidochio, this ladyemunger, this meere rapier and dagger, this cringer . . ."³⁰

In Shakspeare, it is the ridiculous braggart, Slender, who boasts of having played "at sword and dagger with a master of fence; three veneys for a dish of stewed prunes."³¹ In *Measure for Measure*, Pompey includes "Master Starvelackey the rapier and dagger man" in a list of criminals.³² The only reference in the dialogue of *Hamlet* to rapier-and-dagger is made by the officious, foolish Osric.³³

²⁶Ridolpho Capo Ferro da Cagli, *Gran simulacro dell'arte a dell'uso della Scherma*, Siena, 1610. Summarized in Hergsell, *op. cit.*, p. 384.

²⁷Saviolo, *op. cit.*, sig. F 3v. [Our italics].

²⁸The only possible exception is *Hamlet*.

²⁹Henry Porter, *The Pleasant History of the Two Angry Women of Abington* (Ln., 1599), sig. E 3v.

³⁰W. D. Macray, editor, *The Pilgrimage to Parnassus with the Two Parts of the Return from Parnassus . . . performed . . . 1597-1601* (Oxford, 1886), Part I, IV, i, p. 64.

³¹*The Merry Wives of Windsor*, I, i, 296-98. Except in the case of *Hamlet*, all line references to Shaksperian plays are based upon *The Oxford Shakespeare*, edited by W. J. Craig, Oxford, 1919.

³²*Measure for Measure*, IV, iii, 15.

³³*Hamlet*, ed. by Wilson, V, ii, 148.

Shakspeare, like other Elizabethan writers, also attacks duelling in general. In *Henry Sixth, Part Two*, a mock duel is used for comic relief.³⁴ In the *First Part of Henry Fourth*, fencing terms are used for vilification: "You vile standing-tuck," "Sword-and-buckler Prince."³⁵ Touchstone's analysis of lies³⁶ satirizes such sophistries as may be found in the second book of Saviolo's *Practice*. *Twelfth Night* contains two skirmishes, one, a serio-comic duel.³⁷ *Romeo and Juliet* is a veritable sermon against duelling. It is usually inadvisable to attribute any of the points of view of Shaksperian characters to the dramatist, himself, but the consistently hostile attitude toward private combat and rapier-and-dagger fence, in plays ranging from about 1592 to 1604, probably reflects Shakspeare's own disapproval.

II.

In the problematic *Bestrafte Brudermord*³⁸ the bout is unquestionably played with a single weapon. There is no reference to the use of a dagger.

In the highly unreliable first quarto of *Hamlet*, the Gentleman [Osric] answers Hamlet's query, "And howe's the wager?" with

"Mary sir, that yong Leartes in twelue venies

At Rapier and Dagger do not get three oddes of you."³⁹

To this testimony little weight can be given. Some of the supporters of the rapier-and-dagger theory do not stress, and others do not even mention, the challenge in the first quarto. They appreciate the weakness of any conclusions based upon this corrupt text.⁴⁰ One might as easily draw the conclusion that daggers were not used because they are not mentioned in the *Bestrafte Brudermord*. Accord-

³⁴2 *Henry VI*, I, iii, and II, iii.

³⁵1 *Henry IV*, iv, 277-78; and I, iii, 230.

³⁶As *You Like It*, V, iv, 48 ff.

³⁷*Twelfth Night*, III, iv; and IV, i.

³⁸Whether *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* is a corrupt version of Shakspeare's play or of the *Ur-Hamlet* is a moot question. For bibliography cf. A. A. Raven, *A Hamlet Bibliography and Reference Guide* (Chicago, 1936), pp. 120-28.

³⁹Shakespeare, *Hamlet, The First Quarto*, 1603, facsimile, from the copy in the H. E. Huntington Library (Cambridge, 1931), sig. I 2v.

⁴⁰According to some scholars, quarto one is a truncated version of the *Ur-Hamlet* rather than of Shakspeare's *Hamlet*. Cf. Raven, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-144.

ing to Mr. E. B. Goodacre, the stage-direction in the first quarto, V, ii ("*They catch one anothers Rapiers*"⁴¹) clearly implies that each combatant actually grasps the weapon of the other, a procedure which would be possible only in single-weapon fence.⁴²

In the second quarto, a version supposed by some to be based on Shakspeare's own manuscript, the courtier [Osric] praises Laertes' excellence at fence, as follows:

"*Cour.* I meane sir for this weapon, but in the imputation laide on him, by them in his meed, hee's vnfellowed.

Ham. What's his weapon?

Cour. Rapier and Dagger.

Ham. That's two of his weapons, but well."⁴³

The first folio reads:

"*Os.* Sir, you are not ignorant of what excellence *Laertes* is at his weapon.

Ham. What's his weapon?

Os. Rapier and dagger.

Ham. That's two of his weapons; but well."⁴⁴

Regarding this repartee Goodacre queries: "But may not this be a jest purely and simply, made and forgotten, perhaps retained for the sake of the jest from the *Ur-Hamlet*, and of no significance as regards the succeeding match?"⁴⁵ Whether the lines were derived from the *Ur-Hamlet* or whether they were consciously inserted by Shakspeare, their intention is humorous. The lines serve as the high point in Shakspeare's satiric delineation of the silly, affected Osric, the fop to whom the weather is "sultry hot" or "indifferent cold," according to the whim of his listener. Both Hamlet and Osric have been speaking of Laertes' weapon. "What's his weapon?" Hamlet asks. In a trice Osric's "weapon" becomes two weapons. Osric's addition of the dagger to the rapier serves to illustrate both his affectation and his ignorance. A true connoisseur of the noble art of defence, one who had read Saviolo and other masters, would have

⁴¹*Hamlet*, first quarto, *op. cit.*, sig. I 3v.

⁴²E. B. Goodacre, "The Duel in *Hamlet*, *TLS*, Jan. 11, 1934, p. 28.

⁴³Shakspeare, *Hamlet, The Second Quarto*, 1604, Reproduced in facsimile from the copy in the Huntington Library, with an introduction by O. J. Campbell (San Marino, Cal., 1938), sig. N 2v.

⁴⁴Mr. William Shakespeares *Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies, published according to the True Originall Copies* (Ln., 1623) [first folio edition], Tragedies, p. 280, col. 1.

⁴⁵Goodacre, "The Duel in *Hamlet*," *TLS*, Feb. 8, 1934, p. 92.

been aware that the single rapier was the queen of weapons, that the single weapon was generally preferred by gentlemen because it represented the art in its purest form. Hamlet calls the audience's attention to Osric's foolishness by saying, "That's two of his weapons; but, well." In the theatre this gets a laugh.

In the Folio text a stage-direction in V, ii, specifies that the bout is to be played with rapiers and gauntlets. The parallel stage-direction of the second quarto specifies rapiers and daggers as the weapons to be used. Which stage-direction is the more reliable? The chaotic order of the details in the second quarto version suggests some error or revision:

*"A table prepared, Trumpets, Drums and officers with Cushion, King, Queene, and all the state, Foiles, daggers, and Laertes."*⁴⁶

The Folio arrangement is far more logical:

*"Enter King, Queene, Laertes and Lords, with other Attendants with Foyles, and Gauntlets, a Table and Flagons of wine on it."*⁴⁷

Moreover, according to Wilson and others, the first Folio text was based on a prompt-copy, and the second quarto on some other manuscript, perhaps upon Shakspeare's holograph. The Folio version, based upon the prompt-copy, is more likely to present the actual stage practise of Shakspeare's company. That the second quarto is not as dependable as the first Folio, at least in V, ii, may also be deduced from the omission, in the second quarto, of the essential stage-direction regarding the exchange of weapons—a stage-direction which is present in the first quarto, the first Folio, and in the *Bestrafte Brudermord*.

"Daggers [in the second quarto stage-direction] may unwittingly have been retained from *Ur-Hamlet* and [have been] overlooked in the final revision."⁴⁸ On the other hand, the compositor of the second quarto, whom Wilson calls "scoundrelly,"⁴⁹ may have inserted the word "dagger" in the stage-direction. This insertion may have been caused either by the influence of the "dagger" in the challenge of

⁴⁶*Hamlet*, second quarto, sig. N 3v.

⁴⁷*Hamlet*, first folio, Tragedies, p. 280, col. 2.

⁴⁸Goodacre, "The Duel in *Hamlet*," *TLS*, Jan. 11, 1934, p. 28

⁴⁹Wilson, "Introduction," *Paradoxes of Defence*, p. xvii.

the first quarto, or by the influence of Osric's "rapier and dagger," which appears less than one hundred lines before the stage-direction of the second quarto. Such a possibility is supported by Wilson's description of the printing of the second quarto:

"However perfect the copy, the printing of the Second Quarto was far from being so, the compositor's worst fault being the omission of words, phrases . . . His departures from Shakespeare were both complicated and obscured by an overlooker who took upon him to correct without reference to the manuscript copy, such sins of omissions and commissions as he detected or imagined he detected. Thus . . . no editor can afford to neglect the First Folio."⁵⁰

Wilson explains away the absence of "daggers" from the first Folio stage-direction by suggesting that "the custom of employing daggers in fence had gone out . . . certainly . . . by 1623, when the Folio was printed."⁵¹ We have already shown that in this he is in error.

The remaining argument offered by Wilson to support the rapier-and-dagger theory is invalid. According to him, rapier-and-dagger fence had not come into favor until 1590; at the turn of the century it was preferred above all other types; when *Hamlet* was written, Shakspeare, formerly disapproving of fencing, had been won over to the new rapier-and-dagger fad. But, as we have seen, rapier-and-dagger fence was employed in England before 1590; there is no reason for believing that rapier-and-dagger combat was preferred above other forms at the turn of the century. Shakspeare's attitude, moreover, was consistently opposed to private combat both before and after *Hamlet* was written.⁵²

III

Confusion concerning the nature of the match between Hamlet and Laertes has resulted from the uncritical tendency of commentators to call it "The Duel in *Hamlet*." Strictly speaking, however, there is no duel in the play. The match is ostensibly only a friendly athletic contest, a

⁵⁰*Hamlet*, ed. by Wilson, pp. xxvii-xxviii.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, p. xviii.

⁵²*Cf.*, pp. 89-92.

"sportful combat." A duel is the outcome of a formal challenge by an aggrieved party. No such challenge is made by Laertes; the encounter appears to be the result merely of the King's whim to see who is the better fencer—hence, the wager. In a duel dangerous weapons are used. In *Hamlet*, however, the foils are supposed to be harmless; Laertes' use of a "sharp" is an act of treachery, as he, himself, confesses. The adversaries in a duel strive to wound or to kill each other, whereas in *Hamlet* one of the contestants seeks merely to win a wager by scoring the greater number of "hits." Horatio, it will be remembered, is astonished that the combatants bleed. Furthermore, spectators of a duel were obliged to remain silent upon pain of serious punishment or death,⁵³ since speech might fatally distract the attention of the duellists whose lives were in the balance. The spectators in *Hamlet* converse freely during the contest. Hamlet's "I . . . will this brother's wager frankly play"⁵⁴ clearly characterizes the amicable nature of the encounter.

IV

Such a "brother's wager" would not be played with bare daggers added to harmless foils. The spectators would have considered the additional offensive threat of the dagger dangerous and unnecessary. They would have known that the defensive operations of the dagger could be as satisfactorily performed by the gauntleted left hand. Wilson, to be sure, says that "the daggers . . . of course were all bated,"⁵⁵ but his statement is an unfounded assumption for which there is no textual evidence.⁵⁶

Furthermore, in Shakspeare's day, single rapier fence was considered the more perfect form, the form favored by gentlemen.⁵⁷ It would, therefore, have been the more fitting

⁵³Randle Holme, *op. cit.*, bk. III, ch. XIX, pp. 174-75; Andrew Favine, *The Theatre of Honour and Knight-hood* (Ln., 1623), bk. X, ch. IV, pp. 442, 459; John Ferne, compiler, *The Blazon of Gentrie* (Ln., 1586), p. 330.

⁵⁴*Hamlet*, ed. by Wilson, V, ii, 250-51.

⁵⁵Wilson, *What Happens in Hamlet*, p. 281.

⁵⁶Shakspeare, wishing his audience to know that the rapiers should be dull, calls them "foils." Foils are blunt weapons: "Blunt as the fencer's foils, which hit, but hurt not." (*Much Ado About Nothing*, V, ii, 13-14) There is, however, nowhere in *Hamlet* any indication that daggers (if such are intended) are dulled.

⁵⁷*Cf.*, p. 91.

form for a demonstration of grace and skill, especially when one of the contestants is a prince.

A more important argument for the use of the single rapier is that in this type of sword-play the exchange of weapons demanded by the action could easily have been effected. The German fencer, Egenolphs, and the French Sainte Didier describe weapon exchanges in single rapier fence.⁵⁸ As the result of crossing their weapons, the antagonists come into close quarters. With his gauntleted left hand, each seizes and wrests away his opponent's rapier. Such disarming would be impossible if the left hand held a dagger. According to Wilson, "Sig. Bb 1 verso of the *True Arte* of Di Grassi contains a careful explanation of how in rapier and dagger play one may jerk the sword out of an opponent's hand by using one's own sword as a lever and striking his sword sharply with the dagger in the left hand. Unless the sword-lever is applied well past the middle of the other sword, the device will hardly work."⁵⁹ Wilson notes, however, that such an exchange was rarely used. Mr. Evan John, therefore, suggests that Hamlet drop his rapier, and, defending himself with his dagger, seize Laertes' weapon.⁶⁰ Such a suggestion is tantamount to an admission that the match could not be performed with all four weapons.

However the disarming is executed in rapier-and-dagger fence, at least one weapon must drop to the ground, since one man cannot fence with three weapons at one time. But one of the rules promulgated for a typical Triumph before Henry VIII states: "He that his sword falleth out of his hand, shall winne no prize."⁶¹ A similar statement is found

⁵⁸Hergsell, *op. cit.*, pp. 468, 195-97.

⁵⁹Wilson, "Introduction," *Paradoxes of Defence*, p. xix. Di Grassi's work was unavailable for consultation.

⁶⁰Evan John, "The Duel in *Hamlet*," *TLS*, Jan. 25, 1934, p. 60. According to Gielgud and Evans, Hamlet drops his dagger when Laertes attacks him off guard. In Evans's reconstruction, Hamlet knocks Laertes' dagger out of his hand and seizes Laertes' rapier. According to Gielgud, Laertes throws his dagger away. Such an action on the part of Laertes would be extremely foolhardy. Cf. Rosamond Gilder, *John Gielgud's Hamlet* (N. Y., 1937), pp. 227-29.

⁶¹W. Segar, *Honor Military and Ciuill, contained in foure Bookes* (Ln., 1602), bk. III, ch. 13, pp. 192-93.

in the rules of Tiptofte which Elizabeth ordered republished.⁶² Segar in 1602 notes that, although a serious duel is not necessarily ended by the dropping of a weapon, "Most certaine it is, that in all Combats and actions, for honor, loue, and praise onely, whosoeuer loseth his sword,⁶³ must presently also lose the honor and victory."⁶⁴ If, then, rapier-and-dagger was employed in the match in *Hamlet*, Shakspeare was breaking a traditional rule of such exhibition matches. That he intended to do this in *Hamlet* is highly improbable.

A careful examination of the text furnishes additional evidence that Shakspeare intended the contest to be played with single rapier. When the King and Laertes plan the treacherous bout (IV, vii), their only references to weapons are to "your rapier," to "foils," "a sword unbated," and "my sword."⁶⁵ No weapon mentioned in the scene refers to a dagger. Yet in this scene the King and Laertes are considering every possible means of achieving their wicked purpose. They plan to employ a sharpened weapon and to poison the point of that weapon in what is to appear as merely a friendly match. If by some mischance Hamlet escape this sharpened and poisoned weapon, a poisoned drink awaits him. It is imperative that Hamlet's death be assured. "If this should fail . . . 'twere better not assayed."⁶⁶ Every undetectable means of assuring Hamlet death is acceptable. Why, then, should the plotters have ignored the

⁶²John, Lord Tiptofte, *The Ordinances, Statutes, and Rules, made . . . and commanded . . . to bee observed or kept in all manner of Justes of Peaces Royall*, reprinted in Sir John Harington, *et. al., Nugae Antiquae*, ed. by Thomas Park (London, 1804), I, p. 6.

⁶³"Sword" appears to be used generically to refer to any weapon.

⁶⁴W. Segar, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

⁶⁵"Rapier" has been defined above as a type of sword with an extremely long blade. "The 'foil' for fence was . . . the kind of sword used in duelling, though with its edge and point blunted or 'bated.'" *Hamlet*, ed. by Wilson, p. 251. Similar definitions are to be found in Castle, *Schools and Masters of Fence* (Ln., 1892), p. 119; and Hergsell, *op. cit.*, p. 232. It is of interest to note that in V, ii, Hamlet asks for "foils." "Come, one for me," Laertes responds. Were "foil" intended to be used generically to include "dagger," Laertes' request could not have been couched in the singular. A Q2 stage direction, V, ii, moreover, reads "enter . . . with . . . foils, daggers." If the word, "foil" was to include "dagger," there would have been no need to mention the latter.

⁶⁶"Sword" has a generic use which includes "rapier" as well as the sword proper.

⁶⁶*Hamlet*, ed. by Wilson, IV, vii, 149-151.

possibility of dispatching him by means of the dagger, especially if, as the King thinks, Laertes is the better fencer? This neglect can be explained in only one way: Shakspeare intended the match to be played with rapiers only.

Goodacre notes that "there seems to be no choice of daggers" in V, ii. Only "foils" are mentioned.⁶⁷ If a dagger were to be used in addition to the foil, why do Hamlet and Laertes not ask for one?

"*Hamlet.* Give us the *foils*."

"*Laertes.* Come, *one* for me." (V, ii, 252-53).

The King, too, makes no mention of a dagger. He asks only that the foils be given the contestants. Why, moreover, does Hamlet merely inquire whether "These foils"⁶⁸ have all a length?"⁶⁹ The length of the dagger was just as important, for we are told by Silver,

"All manner weapons vnder the iust length of the short Sword, as . . . Daggers, and such like short weapons of imperfect lengths, the longest haue the aduantag." ⁷⁰

Because of its relative shortness, the slightest deviation in the length of the dagger would be important. Contemporary documents testify both to the fact that daggers varied in length, and to the fact that it was customary to measure daggers as well as rapiers before a combat to insure "equal size and weight."⁷¹

In the *Hamlet* bout there is no reference to a wound inflicted by a dagger; but if a dagger had been used in this match, an attack with it would have been practically inevi-

⁶⁷Goodacre, "The Duel in *Hamlet*," *TLS*, Feb. 8, 1934, p. 92.

⁶⁸Cf. fnotes 56 and 65 for a definition of "foil."

⁶⁹*Hamlet*, ed. by Wilson, V, ii, 264.

⁷⁰Silver, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

⁷¹"In a letter dated 28th April, 1580, from William, Lord Burleigh, to the Lord Mayor, we read how 'He had caused search to be made among the Cutlers in Westminster for swords and daggers exceeding the length limited by her Majesty's Proclamation . . . the Cutlers had excused themselves, alleging that others of the same trade in London sold both swords and daggers exceeding the length prescribed.'" A. F. Sieveking, editor, *Workes for Cutlers*, p. 22. Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 27. For references to the measuring of daggers, cf. Flutton, *op. cit.*, pp. 106, 145; W. S. Davis, *Life in Elizabethan Days* (Ln., 1930), p. 308. A single instance was found in which a challenge (in 1609) specified the length of rapier alone: "And to that end have I sent you the length of my rapier, which I will use with a dagger, and so meet you at the farther end of Islington." Reprinted at Steinmetz, *op. cit.*, v. I., pp. 170-73.

table. The King's order: "Part them, they are incensed," shows that the contestants are at close quarters at least once during the match. When the combatants close, says Silver, "It is impossible to vncrosse, or get out, or auoide the stabbes of the Daggers."⁷² Goodacre suggests that stabbing with the dagger may have been contrary to the rules of the friendly bout,⁷³ but in this case the opponents are "incensed" and one of them is not interested in following rules. Wilson attempts to evade the problem by saying that "the daggers . . . of course were all bated,"⁷⁴ but this statement, as has been noted above, is unfounded.⁷⁵

Sharp or blunt, daggers are not called for; they serve no dramatic purpose either in IV, vii, or in the combat itself. On the other hand, the evidence presented in this paper warrants the conclusion that Shakspeare's "brother's wager" was conceived as a fencing bout with foils alone.

⁷²Silver, *op. cit.*, p. 9 and *passim*.

⁷³Goodacre, "The Duel in *Hamlet*," *TLS*, Feb. 8, 1934, p. 92.

⁷⁴Wilson, *What Happens in Hamlet*, p. 281.

⁷⁵*Cf.*, p. 96.

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THE REFLECTIVE ELEMENT IN FALSTAFF

By SAMUEL A. SMALL

OF the various opinions regarding Falstaff's outlook on life, perhaps the view that is most generally accepted is that he intentionally tries to charm away the realities of life by an over-abundance of wit, which extends in its range from common ribaldry to high flights of fancy. Having an ingenious temperament for inventing lies and for justifying his false ways of living, he uses his wit to violate truth and dignity in life. In defending himself against the opposition of others, he takes pride in matching his wit with their hostile designs, and in using logical argument to outplay them. The colorful atmosphere of all that Falstaff says and does is the chief attribute of his personality, as it is also the chief entertainment in the plays in which this character appears.

The contrast between the age and fatness of his body, and the youthful, subtle keenness of his intellect forms a laughter-provoking incongruity which is always present in the mind of the audience; in other words, nothing is ever said or done by the fat knight which is not immediately thrown into a ridiculous light by the bulkiness of his body. The bigness of his body and his advanced age are the two simple physical matters about him which create the "fun" in Falstaff as a stage figure.

But Falstaff is aware that these physical encumbrances are handicaps. He speaks of them regretfully as obstructing his efforts to live an active life. This realization of the increasing limitations of old age directs his attention to a great extent toward abstract inquiries on the passing of time, which indicates a melancholy strain in Falstaff. So, instead of being a simple conventional coxcomb, or a witty-mouthed clown, Falstaff is both of these with inner qualities of self-reflectoin added. Whatever Falstaff's wit creates in words, we are noticing quietly the serious man who pities himself and who would have others pity him.

Falstaff is a stage clown and wit, but one who is sensitive

regarding his size and age; otherwise, Shakspeare could not have imbued this character with the depth of feeling which he shows in many places. Prince Hal knows Falstaff's sensitiveness and knows, too, that he will react to the least suggestion of physical decay. Prince Hal, who never shows him any real kindness, probes him to the quick about his physical decline, and seems to take with Poins a brutal pleasure in watching how these remarks bring out of Falstaff a wealth of lies.

Thou art so fat-witted, with drinking of old sack, and unbuttoning thee after supper (I, ii); What says Sir John Sack-and-Sugar? (I, ii); You will, chops? (I, ii); Farewell, thou latter Spring! farewell, All-hallow'n Summer! (I, ii); Peace, ye fat-kidney'd rascal! (II, ii); Peace, ye fat-guts! (II, ii); Didst thou never see Titan kiss a dish of butter? II, iv); How now, wool-sack! (II, iv); Why, you whoreson round man (II, iv); Zwounds, ye fat paunch (II, iv); Thou greasy tallow-keech (II, iv); This huge hill of flesh (II, iv); Here comes lean Jack, here comes bare-bone. (II, iv); How now, my sweet creature of bombast! (II, iv); Trunk of humours (II, iv); That old white-bearded Satan (II, iv); How now, blown Jack, how now, quilt! (IV, ii); For thy theft hath already made thee butter. (IV, ii); Unless you call three fingers on the ribs bare. (IV, ii).

From the first appearance of the Prince in the plays to the end, his words lampoon the Fat knight on the subject of his bodily infirmities. Falstaff's reactions are interesting, and I believe the reason for Falstaff's irresponsibility to moral principles, especially in his lies and expressions of contempt for humanity, are to be understood as reactions to this constant probing by the Prince into his bodily decay. Only once or twice does Falstaff strike back directly at the Prince with violent words:

Away, you starveling, you eel-skin, you dried neat's tongue, you bull's pizzle, you stock-fish,—O, for breath to utter what is like thee!—you tailor's-yard, you sheath, you bow-case, you vile-standing tuck,—(II, iv).

But all of Falstaff's unprincipled actions, his cowardice, lying, thieving, back-biting, etc., are crude elements of wit and humor. Where are the finer points of characterization

that deepen or enliven the picture of the fat knight? The First Part of *Henry IV* was produced in 1597 and at that time Shakspeare had reached the stage in his career where emotional acting was the chief ingredient of good characterization.

The maintenance of good emotional characterization in Shakspeare can be traced in the playwright's use of the soliloquy and of the aside. He seemed to find in the soliloquy a medium for expressing the psychological workings of his characters. We can easily detect these emotional moments in Shakspeare's characters, even in his early days. Romeo and Juliet become living, thoughtful characters, emotional and universal, because, as the play progresses, Shakspeare uses the soliloquy in their mouths to bring out the depth of their souls. When the end of this play is reached, the two characters who soliloquize in the tomb are not emotionally the same as the Romeo and Juliet of the beginning of the play.

Falstaff "keeps a sort of dignity," as one commentator expresses it. This dignity is the result of a number of strokes of the pen which Shakspeare throws in to make of Falstaff something more than a joyous wit. There are passages which lead one easily to feel his inner mind. Not only soliloquies and asides, but Falstaff's method of reasoning often betrays a deeper side to him. Shakspeare always used the method of a sudden inner shift whenever he wished to change the opinion of the audience in favor of any character. We all know how the clown, Costard, in *Love's Labor's Lost*, is made human by some 35 lines. We actually like Costard at the end of the play because of the sentiment contained in these lines. Since Shakspeare does this with Costard, Launcelot, and others in the early plays, there is no doubt that Shakspeare meant Falstaff to be, in our conception of him, a full-fledged man and not merely a puppet.

When Shakspeare began the writing of comedy, he, like other playwrights of his time, depended on stage wit, but much of the wit in his early plays is accompanied by asides and soliloquies intended to keep the audience guided as to

the plot. This is first clearly revealed in Biron, the hero of *Love's Labor's Lost*. Shakspeare's purpose in thus enlarging the function of the aside to that of a soliloquy was to facilitate plot construction by condensing material, but the revelation of character through this means tended to heighten the person as a living being. The lowest type of wit or clown can thus become a subject of our sympathies (like Costard) by putting in his mouth something of his inner feelings. Minor persons in the plays become more than the conventional puppets they were at first meant to be. By the stroke of a few lines, the audience can be made to see more in the character than what the stage requirements called for. To reduce every event so as to fit the whole play into five acts is a strict dramatic necessity, calling for high selectiveness and condensation. The only way a dramatist may break through this shell of convention, which forces him to cut much flesh and blood from the characters, is to drop remarks here and there from minor characters, or through the self-revealing soliloquy. On the Shaksperian stage this was not hard to accomplish because the actor was close to and on familiar terms with the audience.

To turn comedy into tragedy is one of the great achievements of Shakspeare; so it should not surprise us to find an underlying tragic note through the use of a method that reveals the inner mind, however much the subject shows humorous content. The outstanding example of a clownish character which was worked into a tragic character is Shylock. Shakspeare found this Jew in an old play and possibly in an old ballad. He meant Shylock to be a ridiculous clownish type of villain to contrast with the romantic and colorful love stories of Portia and Jessica. Shylock, the hated Jew, was clownish and ludicrous; but Shakspeare was not content to let him be the conventional clown he found him. He opens up to the audience through asides and soliloquies avenues of approach to the secret recesses of shylock's mind. We see his meanness and selfishness, but we also feel the nobility of his mind as a Jewish business man and father who has been deeply wronged by the treatment of the Christians.

The same touch of sympathy comes out of Falstaff's speeches. The method is the same as that used in Shylock, though they are different in kind. Falstaff's gluttony, boisterousness, wit, and cowardice are all given to us plainly as definite traits, and these Shakspeare found, as he did the clownishness of Shylock, in the original versions. But, as I shall show below, many of Falstaff's speeches reveal a method that gives a sympathetic touch to his character which any one in the audience can feel. How could it have been otherwise? At the time Shakspeare wrote *Henry IV*, Part I, he was enlivening all his characters with human traits, and certainly Falstaff in his hands could not remain the Falstaff of his earlier forebears. At this late period, he naturally touched Falstaff with deeper qualities of character than the former clowns had, without spoiling his qualities as a stage wit.

There is no reason for antagonistic points of view between the school of thought which regards Falstaff as a stage clown and the school of thought which allows him serious qualities of character. A clown may have character and still remain a clown and wit on the stage. To imbue Falstaff with qualities of soul Shakspeare did not have to drop the clown in him; the clown may be given a large atmosphere of life in which to live. The clown who has moments of melancholia was known in literature long before Shakspeare's time. By 1597, not merely had the dramatist to conceive the broad outlines of a method to bring pathos to the minds of the audience, he had also to blend his method into the character itself so as to make the character more natural. So far as Shakspeare's development as a dramatist is concerned, it is wrong to study comedy and tragedy separately. Shakspeare's methods, which he learned in the early days of his career, were guided by his imitation of Marlowe, and still earlier by the cruder methods of Kyd. *The Spanish Tragedy* and *The Jew* served Shakspeare as the school in which he learned to present characters so as to touch the hearts of his audience.

Previous to this point in the development of Shakspeare

as a dramatist, wit for wit's sake was everything to a dramatist's success. Plays like *The Comedy of Errors* and *Love's Labor's Lost* show that Shakspeare was at this early period working the one tool which had to function correctly to bring success to the playwright. When *The Spanish Tragedy* appeared, the playwright found it necessary to stress certain elements which derived from Seneca. These requirements were revolutionary as they tended to stress inner activities of characters in an artificially devised plot. The plot suffered, as we may see in a play like *Titus Andronicus*, but methods to evoke pitiful appeals were crudely effective. The tragic story at this time had to be chosen to support the Senecan medium. Marlowe's greatness was to unify the Senecan stock-in-trade tools in the person of one man, and to make this person bristle with all the paraphernalia of the Senecan school. His success forced other playwrights, including Shakspeare, to study one character to the neglect of the others in the play. Tragic character still had to be chosen for the exemplification of his villain-hero. Marlowe, in *The Jew*, then led the way into a new field of story materials. This was in history where comedy as well as tragedy existed. His use of the villain, too, showed the way to the use of Senecan elements in persons who were fundamentally not made for suffering. Marlowe may be said therefore to have weakened the strict application of Senecan matter to strictly serious figures by using the broader field of history and extending the use to persons essentially villainous instead of heroic.

In his depiction of Richard III, Shakspeare followed suit and strove to out-do Marlowe. The lines followed were in the direction of breadth and villainy. Soliloquizing was subordinated to a mere stage technique to keep the audience informed on matters of plot and character. The soliloquy helped (or one may say made it possible for) the playwright to open up a larger range of action and thought. It was largely in keeping with the largeness of the stage itself. Furthermore, and this is the most important point to us, the soliloquy served as the main tool for the playwright to tie together the straggling parts of the old chron-

icles. Here it served as a means of condensing material when condensation was necessary. The same technical use of the soliloquy for serious drama was easily transferred to its use in comedy. Wit and farce constituted the main ingredients of early playwriting. But whether of refined, witty dialogue or of crude force, the individualizing of character was a matter of later development, and came into being when playwrights learned the value of soliloquy as a stage tactic to deepen characterization and to condense story interest. We may find *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* a successful play from the point of view of refined wit. We may note with interest the crude antics of Launce. But both of these elements take on a deeper significance when, later, Shakspeare puts the soliloquy in the mouths of characters like Launcelot, Romeo, and Antonio.

Launcelot's speech at the beginning of the second scene of the second act in *The Merchant of Venice* is information to the audience regarding the crude working of the clown's mind. The inner simplicity of his mind is at once apparent. Similarly, Romeo is at once interpreted by us as a love-sick lover of the simplest and purest type. So, also, Antonio tells us how we should interpret his sadness as part of the construction of the plot. His idea of Friendship is of the simplest and purest type. The early use of the soliloquy by Shakspeare was simply as a stage device for keeping the audience informed on intentions and motives. Its value on a large platform stage is clearly evident when the poetry that issues from the mouths of single characters, concentrates attention on them, instead of leaving the bareness of the stage open to the wandering attention of the spectators. Sparkling wit acts in the same way of brightening up the stage, but the soliloquy has the advantage of the psychological appeal.

There are four ways of introducing psychological feeling into dramatic composition:

1. By having someone in the play make a remark about another character.
2. By making the relationship between two characters reveal some hidden feeling.

3. By having a character speak reflectively in the presence of another or in soliloquy.

These are placed in order of their intensity. The first may be simply a passing remark of little importance; while the last may be the means of searching the very soul of the character. These methods may be used for humorous purposes, but the serious psychological import is never lost. The audience may laugh and feel seriously at the same time. For that matter, do we not laugh at Othello for being a blockhead; do we not laugh at Hamlet for his unmanly fear; do we not laugh at all of Shakspeare's tragic characters for their fool-hardiness? Mirth is the principal thing about Falstaff, but Falstaff indulges in matters concerning the human race at large and these passages take root in us as we laugh.

Notice Falstaff's reactions to Prince Hal's rough cynicism:

Prince: Peace, ye fat-guts! lie down; lay thine ear close to the ground, and list if thou canst hear the tread of travellers.

Fal: Have you any levers to lift me up again, being down? I'll not bear mine own flesh so far a-foot again for all the coin in thy father's exchequer. What a plague mean ye to colt me thus?

Prince: Thou liest; thou art not colted, thou art uncolted.

Fal. I pr'ythee, good Prince Hal, help me to my horse, good king's son.

Prince: Out, ye rogue! Shall I be your ostler?

Fal: Go, hang thyself in thine own heir-apparent garters! If I be ta'en, I'll peach for this. An I have not ballads made on you all, and sung to filthy tunes, let a cup of sack be my poison. When a jest is so forward, and a-foot too, I hate it. (II, ii).

This is a typical example of how Falstaff answers the cruel jibes of the Prince. He first makes a joke of his own inability to lift himself up without levers, thus becoming a butt for the others to laugh at. Then he shows a typical independent disposition by refusing to "budge." The reference to the king's exchequer throws in an incongruous

relationship. The last remark, "What a plague mean ye to colt me thus?" is a sudden shift, and at the same time a skilful denial of what he has just done, throwing the responsibility on the Prince. When the Prince unfeelingly casts him the lie, Falstaff shifts to another mood, that of pleading. This is the most ridiculous of his shifts as he asks the king's son to help him on his horse. When the Prince baffles him in this last humor of his, he bursts into a tirade of words against the Prince, attacking his leanness, because he is still smarting under the words "fat-guts" which the Prince hurled at him in the first place.

There is no question but that Shakspeare meant it all for the laughter-provoking power of the dialogue. The beginning and end of this verbal duel shows the fat knight trying to foil the thrusts of the Prince. In this dialogue, typical of all such verbal duels, it is easy to see that Falstaff and the Prince are different in their attitudes. Hal is rough, blunt, and unfeeling. Falstaff is to a great extent on the defensive and uses shifty tactics to ward off accusations from the Prince and Poin. In his eagerness to keep himself clear, he drops all principles of truth and resorts to merely an imaginative interpretation of human relationships. In this way he finds an unlimited resource in both realistic and romantic wit. His eagerness to explain his grounds gives him a positive manner. Which of these two characters governs the situation? In every case, it is the Prince, who takes the fat knight on or shakes him off. Our sympathies go out to Falstaff, as he is the entertainer who is constantly using his wits to defend and explain himself.

We do not sympathize with him as we do with a tragic hero. There is no inner consciousness in Falstaff that is suffering or spiritually struggling. Nothing like that, but Falstaff is the "underdog," and our sympathies easily find him more abused than abusing others. Shakspeare, no doubt, was aware of this. He has an idea about Falstaff that is greater in his mind than the clownish wit-mongering fat knight. This idea was in no sense a metaphysical one, a truth larger than the play itself—but an effective idea just

the same, and one that contributed to Falstaff's humorous movements.

This idea shows itself in two ways. First, a vein of self-pity runs through much of what Falstaff says. Shakspeare uses remorse somewhat mechanically in his tragical figures to indicate a human touch to hardened criminals. So arbitrary is this use that it probably is a stage device to make the character more horrifying than a mere hardened criminal who has no lapse of conscience. This device came from the Senecan school where remorse is used to make the characters sensational. To put this tragic device in Falstaff, who is not criminal minded, adds a note of keen humor, as it is incongruous with his clownishness and wit. We shudder when Macbeth utters remorse immediately after the murder of Duncan; while we laugh heartily when we hear Falstaff pass off a remark of pity and remorse on himself and the world:

Go thy ways, old Jack: die when thou wilt; if manhood,
good manhood, be not forgot upon the face of the Earth,
then am I a shotten herring. There live not three good
men unhanged in England; and one of them is fat, and
grows old: God help the while! a bad world, I say. I would
I were a weaver; I could sing psalms or any thing,—a
plague of all cowards! I say still. (III, iv).

The vein of self-pity intensifies the comic effect of the scene, just as the introduction of a comic device into tragedy (for example, the porter scene in *Macbeth*) intensifies the tragic effect of the scene. The pity which Falstaff here expresses, though incongruous with the character of Falstaff as stage clown, and the immediate circumstances, serves to humanize a character who would otherwise be merely a mechanical figure.

Such use of self-pity for the purpose of relieving and intensifying a comic scene and often for the purpose of creating real laughter is justifiable from the playwright's point of view, because it gives him another means of humanizing the character and of shifting the viewpoint. But what deepens Falstaff's character, and what leads the reader to suspect that he is much more than an ordinary dramatic

figure, is the care with which Falstaff draws out these expressions of self-pity into details of logical arguments. It is easy to laugh at Falstaff when he first begins a speech showing self-pity, for our laughter must come suddenly and not remain too long with us. But after our outburst of laughter, we begin to study Falstaff, who continues to hold our minds by keeping logically to the point he has introduced. When the Prince asks him, "How long is't ago, Jack, since thou saw'st thine own knee?" Falstaff gives a pitiful tale:

My own knee! when I was about thy years, Hal, I was not an eagle's talon in the waist; I could have crept into any alderman's thumb-ring: a plague of sighing and grief! it blows a man up like a bladder. (II, iv).

In the mock play which the Prince and Falstaff perform together, the latter seizes the opportunity of talking about himself in a pitiful way. He is as much interested in expressing self-pity, as he is in attracting the Prince.

That he is old—the more the pity,—his white hairs do witness it; but that he is—saving your reverence—a whoremaster, that I utterly deny. If sack and sugar be a fault, God help the wicked! if to be old and merry be a sin, then many an old host that I know is damn'd; if to be fat is to be hated, then Pharaoh's lean kine are to be loved. No, my good lord; banish Poins; but, for sweet Jack Falstaff, valiant Jack Falstaff, and therefore more valiant, being, as he is, old Jack Falstaff, banish not him thy Harry's company; banish plump Jack, and banish all the world! (II, iv).

One bursts out in laughter when Falstaff begins to pity himself as an old abused man, but he does not stop with a simple expression of his feelings; he enters into a debate, the purpose of which is to defend his good name. At the end the tone of self-pity changes to that of egotism.

Perhaps the place where Falstaff is more simple-hearted and sincere than at any other is at the beginning of Scene iii, Act III. We laugh at him, of course, as he compares himself to an old apple-John, and then to a brewer's horse. But Shakspeare's intention must have been more than mere laughter, for the self-pity is stressed so much that we feel a deeper interest in Falstaff than we would in a butt for our

mere entertainment. Shakspeare even mentions in this speech that Falstaff is looking back remorsefully to the time he went to church.

Bardolph, am I not fallen away vilely since this last action? do I not bate? do I not dwindle? Why, my skin hangs about me like an old lady's loose gown; I am withered like an old apple-john. Well, I'll repent, and that suddenly, while I am in some liking; I shall be out of heart shortly, and then I shall have no strength to repent. And I have not forgotten what the inside of a church is made of, I am a peppercorn, a brewer's horse: the inside of a church! Company, villainous company, hath been the spoil of me. (III, iii)

After this speech we begin to regard Falstaff as a man with enough background in his life and with enough self-consciousness to make us see two sides to his character: one which he presents to the Prince, and the other which enhances the entertaining features of Falstaff's character, but which is dwelt upon and stressed until we begin to feel that Falstaff is perhaps a man who has seen better days.

Again this same note of self-pity occurs in the very midst of a scene in which Falstaff is most despicable. His treatment of the Hostess is the meanest and most unforgivable incident in Falstaff's life. Yet, when the Prince asks him, "Art thou not ashamed?" he astonishes us with an assertion of his innocence, which makes us at once laugh at him, for the idea at the moment is certainly a ridiculous one. But, Falstaff is not merely giving a straightforward assertion of his innocence; he evinces definite subjective pity for himself. No man could possibly breathe this sentiment in more feeling language than Falstaff's:

Dost thou hear, Hal? thou know'st, in the state of innocency Adam fell; and what should poor Jack Falstaff do in the days of villainy! Thou see'st I have more flesh than another man; and therefore more frailty. (III, iii).

Most commentators rightly accept the view that Falstaff practices the art of feigning in order to entertain the Prince. He is a master in fabricating a lie in the form of a story and has the power of picturing his ideas in concrete form. The

same art of feigning also enters into Falstaff's subjective speeches. He pleads his cause in a most colorful way, throwing all principles aside, and seeming always to be conscious of his own inability to act with moral courage. He pities himself when he begins a long explanation about the unprincipled way he has handled his soldiers:

If I be not ashamed of my soldiers, I am a soused gurnet. I have misused the King's press damnably. (IV, ii).

The rest of this soliloquy consists of thirty-four lines of witty, contemptuous slurring on human decency: "with hearts in their bellies no bigger than pins' heads," "where the glutton's dogs lick his sores," "ten times more dishonorable ragged than an old-faced ancient," "a hundred and fifty tattered prodigals lately come from swine-keeping, from eating draff and husks," "no eye hath seen such scarecrows," "the villains march wide between the legs, as if they had gyves on."

Theatrically this speech is meant to entertain the audience. The entertaining feature resides in the rhetorical skill with which Shakspeare composed it. It is not directed at entertaining the Prince, for Falstaff is alone on the stage. Though it is entertaining in itself, as in the case of Launcelot's speech in *The Merchant of Venice* (Act II, Sc. iii), it also may be regarded as a character-revealing soliloquy. It probably serves both purposes. What it reveals of Falstaff's character is further proof of what has been already shown. Falstaff here shows himself to be a high-handed blasphemer of mankind endowed with the power of logical thinking. Contrasted with this, we hear in this speech that he is "ashamed" of his soldiers and that he confesses he "misused the King's press damnably." We burst out into laughter again at the cowardly blasphemer using these penitent terms. But they cannot come from a feigning mind because he is alone on the stage. He must have a strong tendency to express a self-conscious pity for himself. Notice again at the end of the play (*Henry IV*, Part I) the last words of this feigning, clownish entertainer turn our minds to serious feelings of repentance:

If I do grow great, I'll grow less, for I'll purge and
leave sack, and live cleanly as a nobleman should do. (V, iv)

In all of Shakspeare's great characters, their attraction as personalities grows out of his inner knowledge of man. He did not create bloodless, mechanical automata. The breath of life comes from the good and ill which are always found mixed in them. Even the severely drawn Brutus is **weak**, but Hamlet is our best example of what complexity our mortality is. So, Falstaff, with every attraction of a clownish blasphemer of human order, yet shows definite signs of knowing the futility of his own false attitude toward life.

But this self-knowledge is not plainly revealed because Falstaff puts into all his actions and speeches that art of feigning, which pictures everything in a false light. Every commentator describes him as a coarse-minded, witty old man, whose corpulence adds greatly to his stage humor. Most of them see some character underlying his buffoonery.

(To be Continued)

DRAPER'S STUDY OF *HAMLET*

By JOHN WILCOX

PROFESSOR JOHN W. DRAPER is an indefatigable contributor to the scholarly journals of both hemispheres, as the reticulation of footnotes in any of his articles tells every reader. Since he has deserted the Eighteenth Century for Renaissance drama, more particularly Shakspeare, we have constantly encountered his studies of minor aspects of various plays in relation to Elizabethan attitudes. To date one can list nearly forty articles on Shakspeare, an impressive record indeed of scholarly "production." About ten of these are concerned specifically with *Hamlet*. Now he presents *The Hamlet of Shakespeare's Audience*,¹ professedly an assembly of earlier articles with such coordination as will make a complete study of the play; however, little of the second half of the book has appeared earlier. He considers the characters surrounding Hamlet in the light of Elizabethan lore and decides what Shakspeare's audience naturally thought of them. From this vantage ground of historic insight, he proposes to reconsider the personality of Hamlet and the plot, the setting, the style, and the theme of the play.

In general the study of Elizabethan lore has been especially fruitful in the revelation of conventions, that is, in filling in properly those parts of a play which the author does not make explicit because he can trust his audience to understand.

Shakspeare makes his main points plainly enough; such study is therefore productive of footnotes to side issues and occasionally of refutations of interpretations that enter anachronously, like the notion of the high school teacher that the tragedy of *Romeo and Juliet* was written to teach girls what would happen to them if they allowed boys to kiss them the first night they met.

By turning his spotlight on successive figures more or less

¹Published 1938/39 by the Duke University Press, Durham, North Carolina.

in the background of the play, Professor Draper finds a good many ideas hitherto unobserved. Shakspeare's audience, he says, deemed Claudius, despite a little fratricide, a pretty fine fellow, and would say that "all his policies are bent to good"; they saw that he was "truly royal," except in Hamlet's imagination. How do we know this? Because the age of James Stuart could not accept the idea of an ignominious king, even in make-believe.² Rosencrantz and Guildenstern were "men of loyalty and honor, trying to serve at once their King and their Prince," but they had such contrasting natures that "the former expresses more Hamlet's own merry youth; the latter, the sinister purposes of Claudius."³ Horatio was "a poor scholar of the University with whom Hamlet grew intimate off-stage during the second act," as any one will agree who will check the usage of *you* and *thou* and accept Professor Draper's interpretation of what the evidence means.⁴ Polonius was "an Elizabethan courtier, an Elizabethan father, and Elizabethan noble in high office; and, in all these characters, he was not far-removed from the Elizabethan ideal of what a courtier, what a father, what a 'Worthie Priuie Counseler' should be." The reason for this is that the Renaissance had a "keen sense of official dignity" that would not tolerate a dotard or a fool for a court chamberlain.⁵ Ophelia was all that a young lady of noble rank should be—affectionate to her father, fond of her brother, and loyal in her love for Hamlet; for Shakspeare would not "have created the heroine of his greatest tragedy as 'trite,' 'theatric,' and indistinctly drawn."⁶ Laertes was a typical young English noble, trained to become a courtier, whose devotion to his father excuses his willingness secretly to kill the crown-prince with poison.⁷ Queen Gertrude accepted Claudius in "a marriage of convenience to save the dynasty," a marriage that was inconveniently incestuous but still one that would have been considered "reasonable, if not altogether justi-

²See pp. 127-151, *passim*.

³See pp. 18-23.

⁴See pp. 23-33.

⁵See pp. 34-53.

⁶See pp. 54-61.

⁷See pp. 61-69.

fied" by a "politically minded Renaissance," as Professor Draper, at least, can see by recalling Henry VIII's first marriage.⁸

When we turn from these details to his conclusions about the principal character, we find ideas with which many modern critics would not disagree markedly:

"Shakespeare's Hamlet then is a perfectly integrated trinity of personalities: the first the soldier-scholar-courtier-lover of his youth, based on the *Bestrafte Brudermord*, the second, the exterior personality that he showed the world, assuming a social charm or a flagrant eccentricity to the point of seeming madness; of this Hamlet also, the *Bestrafte Brudermord* gives evidence; but the third Hamlet is entirely Shakespeare's own, the Hamlet in revolt against the deviousness of his task; the man of action whom events have forced to pause and weigh and wait, who meanwhile sees his world falling about his ears, who strikes at the very root of all he has known and loved because he has come to hate it, but who in the end achieves the one great object for which he gives all else, and by his just revenge at last brings peace to the perturbed spirit of his father: this all-too-human being, struggling and suffering first in doubtful and enforced inaction, then in a tempest of event—a single man against the whole society of his nation and his time, against his friends, his love, his mother, pursuing his inevitable goal, in sorrow and in bitterness of heart to ultimate catastrophe: such a man the Elizabethans would accept as a tragic hero; such are Brutus, Macbeth, Coriolanus, and Antony; and such is Shakespeare's Hamlet."⁹

Likewise in substantial accord with much contemporary criticism is the interpretation of the plot, the style, and the theme.

"Thus a Renaissance court, at once the center of concentrated absolutism in the person of the king and of a theoretical individualism among the courtiers and scholars that it attracted, presented a complex antinomy of points of view. Surely so complete a contrast might serve as the basis of dramatic conflict: set a single enlightened courtier, a great noble, in opposition to the entrenched power of royalty; make him of royal blood, in fact Crown Prince; make him charming and popular; put right upon his side, a right that he has questioned and tested and found indubitable; let him, in fact, spend half the play in ascertaining the justice of his cause; and, also at the middle of the play, let the king come to realize

⁸See p. 68; pp. 109-126, *passim*.

⁹See pp. 205-206.

the danger in which he and the whole social structure that depends upon him, stand from this upright and determined individual. The king at once resorts to exile and assassination, but the Prince escapes; the King is driven to more uncertain means; but, at the last, these means forsake him; his fellow-conspirator discloses the plot; and both regicide and revenger go down to destruction. This is the play of *Hamlet*."¹⁰

Though not new in any important particular, these remarks about *Hamlet* are, *for the most part*, sound and defensible. In fact, nearly all of them have been advanced and defended by Professor Draper's predecessors and contemporaries in the field. The reader wonders just how these familiar general conclusions became dependent upon the novel ideas about the minor figures encountered in the first half of the book. It is surely defective to imply that trifling matters are central. What difference, for example, does it make how long or how well Hamlet knew Horatio? The playwright needed to give Hamlet a confidant. Horatio must seem fit for the job; that is the extent of his significance.¹¹

Professor Draper bases many of his arguments on an oversimple assumption as to the genesis of *Hamlet*: *Der Bestrafte Brudermord* is considered a German translation of Kyd's play, the *Ur-Hamlet*; Q1, Q2, and F1 are referred to as though they were admittedly three consecutive versions by Shakspeare. He pays occasional lip service to the uncertainties involved, but most of the twenty-five indexed passages treat the *Brudermord* simply as Shakspeare's source. As recently as 1930 Sir Edmund Chambers (whom we find mentioned repeatedly in this study under the quaint form, "Sir E. K. Chambers") gave us his final opinion, "Q2 substantially represents the original text of the play, as written once and for all by Shakespeare, and . . . F1, Q1, and *Der bestrafe Brudermord* are all in various ways based upon derivatives from that text."¹² It is hardly carping for a

¹⁰See pp. 241-242.

¹¹Cf. G. L. Kittredge, *Shakspeare* (Cambridge, 1916), pp. 19-22. "Shakspeare always follows the established Elizabethan method, which was to make every significant point as clear as daylight, and to omit nothing that the writer regarded as of importance . . . Nothing that is omitted is of any significance. We are not at liberty, therefore, to enrich the plot with our own inventions."

¹²*William Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1930), I, 412.

reviewer to insist that an argument is no sounder than its premises.

Too often the reader of *The Hamlet of Shakespeare's Audience* observes an inadequacy of proof. We are told, for example, that when the Ghost calls Claudius "adulterate" the epithet means merely *unchaste* and does not reflect upon Gertrude's faithfulness to her first husband for two reasons: (1) because *NED* says it can mean *unchaste* or *lewd*, and (2) because when the Ghost says, "'that incestuous, that adulterate beast' the two adjectives *seem*¹⁸ to be purely a synonymous intensification . . . and the order . . . suggests¹⁸ that they cannot allude to two separate acts or conditions; for in that case 'adulterate' *should*¹⁸ precede." Sound scholarship does not consist of the positive affirmation of mere possibilities.

Anyone interested in collecting specimens of loose logic in the field of literary study, as this reviewer confessedly is, can read the book with sardonic pleasure. The minor details are frequently inversions of accepted ideas that one is impelled to wonder if he has taken, as a method, Professor Kittredge's remark about "sophistry enough to turn commonplaces into paradoxes by standing them on their heads."¹⁴ Plausible paradoxes *do* get into the scholarly journals, but from there they pass rather quietly into the "junk-heaps for a variorum to sort and sift."¹⁵

¹⁸*Italics* are mine. See pp. 112-113.

¹⁴*Op. cit.*, p. 8.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 31-32.

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EDITORIAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

By S. A. T.

HAMLET vs. LAERTES

In her highly interesting and scholarly essay on the fencing bout between Hamlet and Laertes, Miss Guttman shows convincingly that Professor Wilson's attempt to alter the generally accepted practice on the stage has nothing to commend it. A point which Miss Guttman has not considered, not being directly relevant to her subject, is Dr. Wilson's wholly unsupported assertion (in footnote 1 on page 282 of *What Happens in Hamlet*) that Laertes was entitled "to have first pick" of the foils because he was "the fencer challenged." Those who have had the patience to wade through his exegesis know how material this point is to his argument, but no one seems yet to have taken the trouble to show how utterly wrong he is. If there is one thing certain about this many-problemated play it is this: Hamlet, not Laertes, was the person "challenged."

In the first place, be it noted, Claudius says nothing (in IV, vii) about how the match is to be brought about. All he says is, "We'll . . . bring you together and wager on your heads." Then he says (line 156, ed. Furness), "We'll make a solemn wager on your cunning's." In both these passages the "We" is the royal plural. The anxious king could not have been content to wait for Hamlet to challenge Laertes. From the interview between Hamlet and Osric (V, ii) it is certain that "the king hath wagered with him [Laertes] . . . that in a dozen passes between yourself and him, he shall not exceed you three hits." It is evident from this that there is here no challenge (a wager is not a challenge) and that Hamlet is not the challenger. That the bout

did not originate with Hamlet is also proved by the words of the Lord whom the King sends to know "if your pleasure hold to play with Laertes, or that you will take longer time." This clearly implies that Hamlet could have asked for a postponement—which would be out of the question if he had been the "challenger." Furthermore, one can hardly imagine the challenger to say to his opponent, as Hamlet does (V, ii, 242-44):

"I'll be your foil, Laertes; in mine
ignorance

Your skill shall, like a star i' th'
darkest night,

Stick fiery off indeed."

A point which cannot admit of any other interpretation than that Hamlet was the party challenged is his saying to Osric, "How if I answer 'No'? i.e., if I decline the invitation to engage in such a bout.

Indubitably, Mr. Wilson cannot tell us what happens in *Hamlet*.

ELIZABETHAN ENGLAND

All persons interested in Shakespeare's environment, the milieu in which he lived and worked, will be delighted with a portfolio of forty-one beautiful collotype plates (16½ x 12 inches) just published by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, together with a very well-written explanatory booklet (32 pages) by Professor Franklin B. Williams of Harvard University. The plates are made from the finest photographs obtainable and printed on heavy rough-finish paper; under each picture is an adequate caption. Teachers and lecturers wishing to illustrate the Elizabethan period, its costumes, architecture, prominent personalities, games, etc., cannot do better than to show their audiences and pupils these hand-

some plates. The set, the first of a series of 400 portfolios dealing with the world's past, sells for only \$5. (to subscribers for the series, \$4.).

THE CLASSIC PLAYERS AND KING LEAR

We take this opportunity to congratulate our friend and fellow-member, Dr. Bob Jones, on the completion of the tenth year of the activities of his group of young, enthusiastic, intelligent, and flexible theatrical organization: The Classic Players. Under the stimulating guidance of this charming, handsome, and sweet-voiced Dr., who began his Shaksperian activities long before he became a "Dr.", students attending Bob Jones College in Cleveland, Tennessee, were encouraged and inspired to read, study, and act Shakspeare's masterpieces. Their record of achievement includes *The Merchant of Venice*, *Othello*, *Hamlet*, *Henry IV*, *Twelfth Night*, *Julius Caesar*, *Henry V*, *The Tempest*, and *King Lear*,—a record of which even the most distinguished theatrical company might be proud.

We have just received a handsomely illustrated and well-printed 16-page booklet about The Classic Players which we examined with real curiosity and great interest. One of the most suggestive things in it is an unusual (unorthodox) comment on *King Lear* by Mr. Thomas Brahan, reprinted from *The Chattanooga Times*. His father, Mr. Brahan tells us, was of the opinion that *King Lear* is not a study in ingratitude, Shakspeare's most detested human vice, but of monstrous egotism and demoniacal rage. "The king," he said, "was not a generous father; he exacted, by virtue of severe penalties, the most abject adulation." The old man, in fact, "received from his daughters better than he merited, for Cordelia loved him." Lear divided his kingdom because he wanted his children to grovel before him, "to behave like the cheru-

bims and seraphims of the hymn." And, in fact, *Lear* is "a play about a wicked father and his most natural daughters,"—"enforced endearments provoke the bitterest hatred." Well, it's a viewpoint—and much can be said for it.

FRANCIS MERES

One of the most notable publications of recent months, though it has not been awarded a Pulitzer prize, is the facsimile reprint of Francis Meres's *Palladis Tamia* by Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints (100 West 31st St., New York). Meres was not a very profound scholar and his literary judgments will not stand comparison with those of George Saintsbury, Matthew Arnold, or Walter Pater. But to Shaksperian scholars this book—the rest of his writings have long since been assigned to merited oblivion—is of the greatest value: it not only serves as an important, probably our most important, guide to the chronology of Shakspeare's works, but also tells us how highly Shakspeare was appreciated by his contemporaries who recognized in him their greatest poet and dramatist when he was only thirty-four years old.

Very few copies of the first (1598) edition of this book are extant, and only one (formerly Dr. Rosenbach's) which contains the preface in which the author roasted his ignorant publisher in Latin and which was subsequently torn out of extant copies. The passages dealing with Elizabethan poets have been frequently reprinted, but this is the first time that the book as a whole has been made available to scholars. The presentation is enriched not only with the missing preface but with an interesting though scholarly introduction by Professor Don Cameron Allen. We are informed that this excellently printed and neatly bound book of almost 700 pages can now be purchased for \$7.50 (originally published for \$10.).

Kansas City, Mo.

July, 1939

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The Shakespeare Association Bulletin



The Reflective Element in Falstaff

Shakspeare in 1596

Shakspeare and the Doctrine of Cosmic Identities

The Literary Origins of Robert Greene

A Biography of Autolycus

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THE REFLECTIVE ELEMENT IN FALSTAFF

By SAMUEL A. SMALL

(*Concluded*)

Except for a charming wit, Falstaff has no kindly qualities to cover over a distinct moral laxity. He is cowardly and selfish. In spite of these mean traits, he is not callous and hard, except at times. He is fretful and touchy. He is made so by the infirmity of his body and by his advanced age. All his gay spirits, therefore, are weighed down by a self-conscious understanding of these two shortcomings. He can indulge in a natural flow of fanciful humor, as when he is talking about the raggedness of his own regiment. Then his wit is spontaneous and free, but there are times when his humor is forced. At these times he becomes melancholy by too much self-pity. His impulsive answers, his backbiting the prince, and all of his irascible humors, are the result of a man who feels his own weaknesses under circumstances he cannot control.

Too often we think of Falstaff as a character whose wit overflows with fancy. He loves make-believe; feigning seems natural to him under all circumstances. And it matters not at all that Falstaff is a depraved man. Shakspeare gave the same power of feigning to Iago and Richard III, both of whom are morally depraved. But to understand his cowardice we must see the other, more realistic, actions of Falstaff. When his cowardice was suddenly brought to light at the beginning of *Henry IV*, he did not feign running away. It is under such real circumstances that we feel Falstaff forcing his conscience to give way to humorous actions and talk to defend himself. His cowardice on Gadshill was due to a sudden impulse to run. This hurt Falstaff afterwards, so he lies and acts up to cover up his cowardly fright. Under quiet, thoughtful circumstances Falstaff's fancy plays naturally and spontaneously.

The rejection scene at the end of *Henry IV*, Part II, can be better understood if we examine closely the scene in which Falstaff and Prince Hal are introduced together at the beginning of Act. I, Sc. 2, of *Henry IV*, Part I. This

scene shows the true relationship between Falstaff and the Prince. After jesting about the influence of the moon and stars, Falstaff predicts that Prince Hal will have no grace when he becomes king.

And, I prithee, sweet wag, when thou art king, as, God save thy grace, majesty, I should say, for *grace* thou wilt have none,—(I, ii).

This remark, occurring at the first appearance of Falstaff, gives the playwright's intention with regard to the relationship between these two characters. This remark is also important as explaining the rejection scene at the end of the second play, where the Prince, now king, shows a surprisingly great amount of coldness toward Falstaff.

From Falstaff's remark, we know that he expected little mercy, and at the rejection scene he passes over the king's coldness with his usual indifferency. Prince Hal in this scene throws back the same accusation at Falstaff that was used against him in the above remark:

Make less thy body, and more thy *grace*. (2 *Henry IV*, V, v).

Falstaff says that the influence of the moon makes them men of good government; while the Prince says the "moon's men do ebb and flow like the sea . . . by the moon" (I, ii). In both places the Prince's opinions of "grace" and the moon's influence are right and Falstaff is wrong. Falstaff would have the Prince think well of them—gentlemen of the shade—when he becomes king; but the Prince more correctly sees the analogy of the moon's influence on the sea as causing the ebb and flow of the tides, like the uncertainty of stealing gold. Shakspeare's introduction of Falstaff presents us a man who uses his wits to circumlocute and evade the truth. The Prince knows the nobler side of life, and the opening scene here looks far ahead—even beyond the first play to the end of the second one—to the rejection scene where the Prince, as King, rebuffs the witty knight with the truth.

As a sensitive, self-conscious man, knowing his own cowardice, sins, and bodily infirmities, Falstaff invites our sympathy and forgiveness. In spite of the lies he invents, we

see understanding and even affection in him after the Gads-hill episode. At the end of it all, Falstaff says in earnestness:

Ah, no more of that, Hal, as thou lovest me! (II, iv).

Shakspeare wrote for the pit where the larger human sympathies and antagonisms kept on the surface, and the same audience which regarded Falstaff as a coward, liar, glutton, etc., could feel a pull at the hearts in places where Falstaff shows himself to be a sensitive, feeling human being.

Thus both Falstaff's cowardice and the rejection scene at the end are part of Shakspeare's general plan to reveal the relationship of the Prince and Falstaff to the audience. The broad sympathy for Falstaff, which the audience feels at the beginning and end of the two plays, as well as throughout the body of them, was part of Shakspeare's purpose, and not, as some critics would have us believe, simply an accident—something in the play happened, they say, which Shakspeare did not intend. This opinion would take from Shakspeare the credit of creating a comic hero who, in spite of his sins, has a soul. Shakspeare so finely fixed Falstaff in our hearts that at the rejection scene our sympathies go along with Falstaff to the Fleet. Shakspeare meant it to be so because he meant Falstaff to be a full-rounded human being. Shakspeare accomplished what he aimed at.

The same intention is found in Hamlet, Lear, and the other great characters in Shakspeare's plays. Hamlet is not consistently insane, nor consistently poetical; he is consistent from no one point of view. Moments of reflection, introspection, and remorse, deepen our understanding of Hamlet's mind. These moments cause the character to break through the technical strictures of the stage. The character moves forward right out of the audience, as it were, to plead its own cause. The same is true of Falstaff, and here it should be more easily appreciated because we have the boorish Falstaff of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* to compare with the true Falstaff in *Henry IV*. The difference is one of character portrayal rather than of theatrical success. In the reflective passages which present character, our whole sympathy for Falstaff immediately returns. That short recital of Dame Quickly in *Henry V* (II, (iii), telling of Falstaff's last moments on his death-bed, breathes

human sympathy, and is worth a whole play like *The Merry Wives of Windsor*.

Our sympathy for Falstaff is enhanced by two other prominent matters of characterization, one belonging to Falstaff, the other to the Prince. Although Prince Hal does not initiate the practical joke at the beginning of the play which reveals Falstaff's cowardice, he does carry it forward by teasing the knight to the point of cruelty. Practical jokers and teasers may be put into the same class with people who enjoy human suffering. Poins plans the Gadshil affair and states the upshot of his practical joke:

The virtue of this jest will be the incomprehensible lies that this same fat rogue will tell us when we meet at supper: how thirty, at least, he fought with; what wards, what blows, what extremities he endured; and in the reproof of this lies the jest. (I, ii).

It is the Prince who actually engineers this practical joke. By cruel nagging and teasing, he works Falstaff up to an embarrassing position until he delivers the final cruel blow:

and, Falstaff, you carried your guts away as nimbly with a quick dexterity, and roared for mercy, and still ran and roared as ever I heard bull-calf. What a slave art thou to hack thy sword as thou hast done and they say it was in fight! What trick, what device, what starting-hole, canst thou now find out to hide thee from this open and apparent shame? (II, iv).

Falstaff does not have the skin of a rhinoceros; as I have stated, his mind is sensitive and touchy. If he were callous, he would give back blow for blow. This he does under moments of retaliation, but more often, as here, the Prince's teasing makes a clown of him. He writhes under the blow and resorts to a lie in his usual way in order to squirm out of an embarrassing position.

By the Lord, I knew ye as well as he that made ye. Why, hear ye, my masters: Was it for me to kill the heir-apparent? should I turn upon the true Prince? why, thou knowest I am as valiant as Hercules: but beware instinct; the lion will not touch the true Prince. Instinct is a great matter; I was a coward on instinct. (II, iv).

This answer reveals a type of mind which can defend itself against any unfair assault. The ease with which he fab-

ricates a lie shows Falstaff's confidence in his mental resources. There is nothing of callousness in it; it is all feeling and art. This verbal adroitness is a contrast to the comparative bluntness of the Prince and Poins.

Because all of Falstaff's verbal adroitness affords entertainment to the audience, it is of particular interest that Falstaff's constant drinking of wine and sack be discussed here. Much of Falstaff's character grows out of his habit of drinking. Both his spirit of boldness and his spirit of meekness and compassion owe something to Bacchus. Sack and sugar enter into every mood. Whenever Falstaff enters the stage he moves and talks like one fresh from the ale-house. His attitude is more often truculent and proud, but his mind can change swiftly; he can be melancholy; and at the next moment he can give free rein to a colorful imagination.

His drinking affords much opportunity for stage play. The swaggerer drinking his wine, and talking glibly, is an old stage device, which may be used for different purposes. Shakspeare in Sir Toby and Sir Andrew in *The Twelfth Night* and in the Porter in *Macbeth* shows us drunkards. Falstaff presents a contrast to Sir Toby Belch, whose mind seems to lose its awareness and alertness. Under the effects of liquor, Falstaff's mind becomes increasingly keen. Falstaff is never drunk. The frequent use of the cup on the stage by the Prince, Falstaff, and others gives the proper local color—the tavern atmosphere of the sixteenth century.

To understand Shakspeare's purpose in keeping Falstaff busy with the cup, it is important to notice the first words of the Prince when Falstaff is introduced at the beginning of the play.

Thou art so fat-witted, with drinking old sack. (I, ii).

Evidently Shakspeare means us to associate the drinking of sack with Falstaff's nimble wit. When Poins first meets Falstaff, similar associations occur to his mind.

What says Sir John Sack-and-sugar? (I, ii).

A cup of Madeira and a cold capon's leg? (I, ii).

These remarks should not be construed as meaning that

Falstaff is a drunkard or even a toper. The evidence in Act II, sc. iv, makes the Prince and Poins themselves seem more guilty than Falstaff as indulgers of drink. Here in Boar's Head Tavern the Prince is on familiar terms with the tapsters.

When I am King of England, I shall command all the good lads in Eastcheap. (II, iv).

To put Falstaff into the right frame of mind for his verbal combat with Prince Hal and Poins, Shakspeare makes Falstaff interrupt his flowing speeches with potations of sack. We can almost see that his calling for more drink while accusing others of cowardice, is a nervous admission of his conscience that he needs liquor to fortify his lies.

A plague of all cowards!—Give me a cup of sack, rogue. Is there no virtue extant? (II, iv).

Yet a coward is worse than a cup of sack with lime in it, a villainous coward. (II, iv).

Give me a cup of sack: I am a rogue, if I drunk today. (II, iv).

As a preliminary to the mock interview in the same scene, Falstaff calls for a cup of sack to stir his intellect to its best efforts.

Give me a cup of sack, to make mine eyes look red, that it may be thought I have wept. (II, iv).

Up to this mock interview, Falstaff has indulged in cup after cup of sack; yet in no other place is Falstaff more keen intellectually. Instead of clouding his mind, he seems better prepared for the oratorical contest before him. The Prince calls him "that huge bombard of sack," but he knows better than to speak of Falstaff as drunk, because Falstaff outwits him time and again. Falstaff, like Hamlet, has magnificent powers of reasoning, and an independence of thought that is never effected by a hostile environment. The Prince knows that this mental control operates on an improved scale when the fat knight has imbibed plenteously of wine. One of the most charming utterances of Falstaff's puts his experience as a heavy drinker into a plausible philosophy. Notice the clear-cut powers of thinking revealed in this speech which occurs in Act IV, Sc. iii, line 95 ff, of the *Second Part of Henry IV*. (See below, p. 26).

So important an element is his habitual drinking, that one should think of Falstaff's character in terms of sack and sugar. It embraces every phase of his mental life, as a witty talker, as a clown, as a glutton, as a thinker, and as a man who enjoys pitying himself. It colors everything he says and does; his very personality depends on it.

Sir Sidney Lee, the great biographer, saw clearly that the greatness of Falstaff as a humorous character depended on a strain of melancholy to complete his dramatic appeal:

"The knight's unfettered indulgence in sensual pleasures, his exuberant mendacity and love of his own ease, are purged of offence by his colossal wit and jollity, while the contrast between his old age and his unreverend way of life supplies that tinge of melancholy which is inseparable from the highest manifestations of humor." *Life of William Shakespeare*, p. 245.

This brief statement by Lee is the finest appreciation of Falstaff's character ever written. The "tinge of melancholy," whether it comes directly from the dialogue, or is derived from the circumstances surrounding Falstaff, is the key to the best understanding of his character. The fear of creeping old age makes Falstaff reflect on his bad behavior, though it does not reform him. Those about him call him Mr. Remorse, and the Prince significantly remarks at the end of a scene which provokes our compassion for Falstaff:

Were't not for laughing, I should pity him. (II, ii).

This remark closes the exciting scene in which the Prince and Poins surprise Falstaff and his men after they have robbed the travellers. After Falstaff puts up a brief resistance, he and his men flee in a panic. The bigness of Falstaff's body and his old age contrast with the circumstances to produce a ridiculous situation. But in it all there runs a strain of compassion which we all feel. The Prince summarizes the whole situation thus:

Fat Falstaff sweats to death,
And lards the lean earth as he walks along:
Wer't not for laughing, I should pity him. (II, ii).

Let us now examine closely into the more objective side of Falstaff's wit—the side that corresponds to the stage fool. We find here a melancholy that is of more worth and mean-

ing to the play than the self-pity we have noticed in Falstaff the clown. The difference between the clown's wit and the fool's wit is that the latter is intentional and, therefore, intellectual; while the clown indulges in purposeless horseplay. The melancholy that grows out of a fool's deliberate nature gives point and order to much that is spoken; yet the fool is looking at life without conscience.¹ He strips off all refinements and sees only the bare facts of animal nature. This may produce melancholy of the highest degree. Fine distinctions and delicate comparisons make up the kernel of his thinking. He is unrestrained and free because that is the avenue by which he discovers the natural causes of things. Idleness and mirth are the two sources that naturally feed his quick mind.

The fat knight easily passes at will from the clown to the fool, or vice versa. In the first scene in which Falstaff appears (I, ii), he functions as a fool, as the conversation is romantic and calculated to rival the Prince's witty remarks. The Gadshill upset, revealing Falstaff's cowardice, is nothing more than clowning, so far as Falstaff is concerned, up to Act II, Sc. iv, line 223, where he changes to a fool. From this point to the end of this scene (43 lines), Falstaff allows his constructive imagination to calculate fictitious reasons; so the intellectual wit of the fool here predominates. Generally speaking, Falstaff becomes the professional fool when the tone of his speeches rises to a romantic color well calculated for lying and defensive word-play.

Falstaff is probably not "as melancholy as a gib cat, or a lugg'd bear;" nor should he be compared to the "melancholy of Moor-ditch," as the Prince does; nor does he deserve the name "Monsieur Remorse" which Poinc gives him; but the whole introductory scene, in spite of his care-free, brisk language, pictures Falstaff to us as a man infected with a tinge of decay and mutability. The sentiments about the devil, the destiny of his soul, the gallows, and the astronomical changes, all lead us to think of the melancholy spirit. Since Shakspeare's workmanship in making up Falstaff was primarily for humorous purposes, the effect of this first scene on the audience works powerfully in that direction; but as we go from scene to scene through the

plays, meeting with definite traces of the same method of treatment, the idea grows on us that Falstaff is a man who is looking at the world through a veil of pessimism.

The following twenty-two different kinds of mental reaction, which, taken together, display a high intellectual type of melancholia, are quoted from *The Second Part of Henry the Fourth*, and are arranged in the order that they occur in the play. Notice the quick mental energy, the keen satisfaction in trivial things, his irritability, his self-absorption, his self-confidence, and his good¹ logic. Notice, too, the gradually fatalistic trend of his mind toward the end of the list.

I. *An Inventive Mind:*

Fal.: The brain of this foolish compound clay—man, is not able to invent anything that tends to laughter, more than I invent, or is invented on me. (I, ii).

II. *Disillusioned concerning marriage:*

Fal.: For he hath the horn of abundance, and the lightness of his wife shines through it. (I, ii).

III. *Acting Oddly:*

C. J.: Call him back again.

Ser.: Sir John Falstaff!

Fal.: Boy, tell him I am deaf.

Pa.: You must speak louder, my master is deaf. (I, ii).

IV. *Emotional Questioning:*

Fal.: What? a young knave, and begging? Is there not wars? Is there not employment? Doth not the king lack subjects? Do not the rebels need soldiers? (I, ii).

V. *Analytical Thinking; Closely Packed Thought:*

Fal.: This apoplexy, as I take it, is a kind of lethargy, an't please your lordship, a kind of sleeping in the blood, a whoreson tingling.

C. J.: What tell you me of it, be it as it is?

Fal.: It hath its original from much grief, from study, and from perturbation of the brain. I have read the cause of his effects in Galen; it is a kind of deafness. (I, ii).

¹See above, p. 22.

VI. *Truth Parried by a Denial or Lie:*

C. J.: You have misled the youthful prince.

Fal.: The young prince hath misled me; I am the fellow with the great belly, and he my dog. (I, ii).

VII. *Reverence for the Past:*

Fal.: My lord, I was born with a white head, and something a round belly; for my voice, I have lost it with hallowing and singing of anthems. To approve my youth further, I will not: the truth is, I am only old in judgment and understanding.. (I, ii).

VIII. *Disillusioned by Depravity of Man:*

Fal.: A man can no more separate age and covetousness than a' can part young limbs and lechery, but the gout galls the one, and the box pinches the other, and so both the degrees prevent my curses. (I, ii).

IX. *Unfitness to Cope with the World:*

Fal.: I can get no remedy against this consumption of the purse, borrowing only lingers it out, but the disease is incurable. (I, ii).

X. *Disobedience to Law:*

Fal.: You call honorable boldness impudent sauciness; if a man will make courtesy and say nothing, he is virtuous; no, my lord, my humble duty remembered, I will not be your suitor. (II, i).

XI. *Sense of Physical Decay:*

Fal.: Old, old, Master Shallow. (III, ii).

XII. *Witty Analysis of Man:*

Fal.: Will you tell me, Master Shallow, how to choose a man? Care I for the limb, the thewes, the stature, bulk and big assemblance of a man? Give me the spirit, Master Shallow. (III, ii).

XIII. *Physical Unfitness:*

Fal.: I have a whole school of tongues in this belly of mine, and not a tongue of them all speaks any other name but my name. An' I had but a belly of any indifference, I were simply the most active fellow in Europe; my womb, my womb, undoes me. (IV, iii).

XIV. *Sparkling Conceit:*

Fal.: But what of that? he saw me, and yielded, that I may

justly say with the hooked-nose fellow of Rome, there cousin, 'I came, saw, and overcame.' (IV, iii).

Fal.: By the Lord, I will have it in a particular ballad else, with mine own picture on the top on't (Coleville kissing my foot. (IV, ii)i

XV. *Decay of the World; Logical Analysis; Sparkling Conceit:*

Fal.: A good sherris-sack hath a two-fold operation in it; it ascends me into the brain, dries me there all the foolish, and dull, and crudy vapours which environ it, makes it apprehensive, quick, forgetive, full of nimble, fiery and delectable shaps, which, delivered o'er to the voice, the tongue, which is the birth, becomes excellent wit. The second property of your excellent sherris is the warming of the blood, which before left the liver white and pale, which is the badge of pusillanimity and cowardice; but the sherris warms it, and makes it course from the inwards to the parts extreme; it illumineth the face; which as a beacon gives warning to all the rest of this little kingdom, man, to arm, and then the vital commoners, and inland petty spirits, muster me all to their capitol, the heart, who, great and puffed up with this retinue doth any deed of courage; and this valour comes of sherris. So that skill in the weapon is nothing without sack, for that sets it a-work; and learning, a mere hoard of gold kept by a devil till sack commences it and sets it in act and use. Hereof comes it that Prince Harry is valiant; for the cold blood he did naturally inherit of his father he hath, like lean, sterile, and bare land, manured, husbanded, and tilled, with excellent endeavor of drinking good and good store of fertile sherris, that he is become very hot and valiant. If I had a thousand sons, the first human principle I would teach them should be,—to forswear thin potations, and to addict themselves to sack. (IV, iii).

XVI. *Sarcasm:*

Fal.: If I were sawed into quantities, I should make four dozen of such bearded hermits' staves as Master Shallow. It is a wonderful thing to see the semblable coherence of his men's spirits and his: they, by observing of him, do bear themselves like foolish justices; he, by conversing with them, is turned into a justice-like serving-man: their spirits are so married in conjunction with the participation of society that they flock together in consent, like so many wild geese. If I had a suit to Master Shallow, I would humor his men with the imputation of being near their master: if to his men, I would curry with Master Shallow that no man could better command his servants. It is certain that either wise bearing or ignorant carriage is caught, as men take diseases,

one of another: therefore, let men take heed of their company. I will devise matter enough out of this Shallow to keep Prince Harry in continual laughter the wearing out of six fashions,—which is four terms or two actions,—and he shall laugh without intervallums. O, it is much that a lie with a slight oath, and a jest with a sad brow, will do with a fellow that never had the ache in his shoulders! O, you shall see him laugh till his face be like a wet cloak ill laid up! (V, i, 65-89).

XVII. *Romantic Idealism:*

Pis.: I speak of Africa and golden joys.

Fal.: O base Assyrian knight! what is thy news? Let King Cophetua know the truth thereof. (V, iii).

XVIII. *Excitability:*

Fal.: I am Fortune's steward—get on thy boots, we'll ride all night. O sweet Pistol, away, Bardolph, come Pistol, utter more to me, and withal devise something to do thyself good. Boot, boot, Master Shallow! I know the young king is sick for me! Let us take any man's horses, the laws of England are at my commandment, blessed are they that have been my friends, and woe to my Lord Chief Justice! (V, iii).

XIX. *Negligence:*

Fal.: O, if I had had time to make new liveries! I would have bestowed the thousand pound I borrowed of you, but 'tis no matter, this poor show doth better, this doth infer the zeal I had to see him. (V, v).

XX. *Absolute Reasoning:*

Fal.: But to stand stained with travel, and sweating with desire to see him, thinking of nothing else, putting all affairs else in oblivion, as if there were nothing else to be done, but to see him. (V, v).

XXI. *Absolute Emotion:*

Fal.: My king, my Jove! I speak to thee, my heart! (V, v).

XXII. *Error in Judgment:*

Fal.: Do not you grieve at this, I shall be sent for in private to him: look you, he must seem thus to the world. (V, v).

Fal.: Sir, I will be as good as my word: this that you heard was but a colour. (V, v).

These twenty-two quotations, arranged in the order that they appear in *The Second Part of Henry IV*, reveal a mind as complicated and emotional, though not as intense,

as Hamlet's. The first third of these quotations deal with vital facts concerning man and his life. The second third shows a mind that thinks analytically around the subject of man's depravity and his unfitness for the world. The last third reveals a distinct fatalistic trend to Falstaff's thinking. This classification into three groups may be represented as follows:

- I. Falstaff's Superior Mental Powers. I-VII.
- II. Falstaff Becomes Disillusioned. VIII-XV.
- III. Falstaff Sinks into Fatalistic Thinking. XVI-XXII.

Certainly the inspiration behind Falstaff's labyrinthine trains of thought and feeling comes from a fixed idea in his mind that the world has decayed. At moments, he broods and feeds upon mortality; while at other times his imagination flies high in colorful make-believe. His eloquence, as in No. XV of my list, is that of a reflective mind which would fashion its own scheme of things by giving it point and unity. The habit of putting decay in juxtaposition with an ideal conception of life is common in Falstaff as it is in Hamlet. Although the background of each is so different from the other that the directions of their thoughts are nearly opposite, the deepest emotions in both Hamlet and Falstaff are shaken by thoughts of mutability and decay.

Shakspeare uses this serious strain in Falstaff to enhance the humorous side of his character. But critics are agreed that the character of Falstaff is not entirely accounted for by saying that his mind is made up of a combination of the rogue, jester and gull. The reflective element that we feel in Falstaff forms a contrast to his roguishness, and thus, as Sir Sidney Lee has pointed out,¹ the contrast aids the comic effect.

Houghton, New York

¹See above, p. 22.

SHAKSPERE IN 1596

By A. L. EVERETT*

HOW much do we know of Shakspeare? Throughout the centuries since his death he has been the subject of study for countless scholars. Every aspect of his works—for example, his stagecraft, the sources of his plays, his stock of knowledge (of Latin, French, law, music, botany, natural history, hunting lore, woodcraft)—has been exhaustively treated by specialists, while parish registers and judicial and other records have been diligently searched for details of his family connections, business transactions and law suits. Withal, the notion has persisted that Shakspeare the man has eluded our grasp and that notwithstanding this mass of material, supplemented by anecdotes, monumental inscriptions and contemporary eulogies, there still cannot be evoked a living personality. Of Ben Jonson and some others of his contemporaries we are afforded a livelier impression, due either to their vanity or to dramatic circumstances in their lives. Shakspeare, on the other hand, was modest and his nature was, to use a French term, *équilibré*; consequently we have not the like opportunity for such glimpses into his character. His life has, therefore, been a fertile field for legend and for speculation, much of it absurd, *vide* the Baconian theory. In the meantime, however, fresh contributions are being made to our stock of information, to which, it would seem, the public is not sufficiently alive. The researches of such scholars as Professor Wallace and Professor Hotson, who have not been content to thresh over old material, have brought to light, out of hitherto unexplored public archives, facts of rare value as bearing upon Shakspeare's life. Out of the vast accumulation of data, old and new, it does now seem possible to obtain an impression of him somewhat less shadowy than the vague Shakspeare of tradition. To achieve this a

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study of a brief period of his life will be as effective as a more extended survey. By assembling all the material having to do with the given period and the application of rational inference, there may perhaps be unveiled to the reader the vision of a human Shakspeare. The last half of the year 1596 and the beginning of 1597 constitute, on account of the wealth of available data, an ideal period for our purpose.

It will not be amiss to give a short sketch of his progress in the immediately preceding years. It is not until 1594, when he was thirty years old, that his personality emerges with any distinctness after a long period of obscurity. The reasons for this can only be a matter of vague conjecture, except that, latterly, the dramatic profession as a whole had suffered by the prevalence of the plague, the disorganization of the theatrical companies, and, perhaps, the tragic deaths of Kyd and Marlowe. But in 1594 the atmosphere cleared. When the clouds were dispersed the sun of Shakspeare's genius was already high in the heavens, and there can be no reason for surprise that in achievement and fame he quickly made up for the lost years. In that year the company known as the "Lord Chamberlain's Men" was organized. It included Heminges, who had managerial talent of a high order, and Burbage, the leading actor of his time. Shakspeare became a shareholder as well as an actor and the company's chief playwright. In this company he found the stimulus required for the development of his talents. It was an instrument probably unexcelled in the history of the stage for the production of every kind of drama and the representation of his most subtle thought and mood. The success of his *Richard III* secured him recognition as England's leading dramatist. A revival of this play and of *Titus Andronicus* marked the opening of the season 1594-5, besides the new or revised productions of *Taming of the Shrew* and *Two Gentlemen of Verona*. The next season witnessed a spectacular advance. In 1595-1596 there appeared *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Richard II* and *Romeo and Juliet*. In neither comedy, history nor tragedy had anything comparable to these been seen. From the contemporary comment it is easy to discern that they created a sensation for which it would be hard to find

a parallel in the modern drama. Not long afterwards (1598) it was written:

"Luscus, what's playd to-day? faith now I know I set thy lips
abroach, from whence doth flow Naught but pure Juliet and Romeo."
(Marston, *The Scourge of Villainie*.)

Also, "As Plautus and Seneca are accounted the best for Comedy and Tragedy among the Latines; so Shakespeare among the English is most excellent in both kinds for the stage." (Meres, *Palladis Tamia*.)

At this time the booksellers, who had hitherto issued his plays anonymously, notwithstanding the great success of *Venus and Adonis* and the *Rape of Lucrece* (the former had been through four editions) began to find a profit in putting his name on title-pages (*Richard III*, *Richard II*, *Love's Labours Lost*). They even made piratical use of his name in plays by other authors. His works now occupy an important space in the literary output of the day. Out of some 130 books of every sort published in a period of two years (1597 and 1598) as listed in the Stationers' Register, including religion, politics, classics, travel, science, poetry, drama, essays and miscellaneous, nine were plays—and seven of these plays were by Shakspeare.

So far no mention has been made of events in his private life. For the years preceding 1596 our information is scanty. Some scraps are available from the history of the theatrical companies in which he was engaged, and there are autobiographical hints to be found in the poems. We are not concerned with these years. Coming to 1596 let us first see what the standard biographers have to say.

"It was probably in 1596 that Shakespeare returned after nearly eleven years' absence to his native town and very quickly did he work a revolution in the affairs of his family * * * He was no doubt at Stratford on August 11, 1596, when his only son, Hamnet, was buried in the parish church; the boy was eleven and a half years old * * * At the same date the poet's father, despite his pecuniary embarrassments, took a step, by way of regaining his prestige, which must be assigned to the poet's intervention, he made application to the College of Heralds for a coat-of-arms." (S. Lee.)

Sir Sidney Lee was, generally speaking, cautious in venturing a conjecture but in this instance he committed an unfortunate blunder. The supposition that for nearly eleven years Shakspeare neglected his wife and children is contrary to all that is known of his character and quite unsupported by evidence. Happily, in order to dispel this cruel imputation it is necessary only to go the pages of the biography itself. There are recorded the travels of the theatrical companies in which Shakspeare was, or was supposed to have been, engaged, and it would appear (edition 4, page 82 note) that he was in Coventry in 1587 (twice), in 1588, 1592 and 1594. Now Coventry is only 18 miles from Stratford-on-Avon and it is incredible that he should have gone there on all these occasions without taking the opportunity to visit his family. Moreover the 1588 and 1592 tours included Gloucester, and Stratford-on-Avon is on the main road between Gloucester and Coventry, so that he could not have failed to pass through his native town. It must be remembered that the 300-year-old municipal records of the towns are by no means complete, and it is fair to suppose that his company would hardly miss a year in which to travel through what appears to have been the favorite theatrical circuit of that day. His other conjecture, namely that he "was no doubt at Stratford on August 11, 1596, when his only son Hamnet was "buried" is equally unhappy for, as this essay will show, there is every reason to suppose that he was traveling in Kent at that time.

His other biographer, Sir E. K. Chambers, adds somewhat, in that he finds evidence of Shakspeare's professional activities for this period.

"There is practically no external evidence to fix the date of the play (*King John*) before it is mentioned by Meres in 1598. Little stress can be laid on suggestions. * * * * that 'the choice of dauntless spirits' in 'English bottoms' made its appearance at the Cadiz expedition of 1596; perhaps not much more upon a possible echo of the death of Hamnet Shakespeare (August, 1596) in Constance's laments for Arthur. On internal grounds, however, the winter of 1596-7 is not an unlikely date for the play * * * * There are some fairly close phrasal echoes with *Merchant of Venice*." (Chambers, *William Shakespeare*, Vol. 1, page 366).

"If I am right, *Merchant of Venice* can hardly be later than the autumn of 1596 * * * * On general grounds of style and links

with other plays and the *Sonnets*, the autumn of 1596 is a very probable date of the play, which is certainly more mature than the comedies of 1594-5" (page 373).

"The boy Hamnet died in 1596. Sentiment would trace a reflection of the event in the sympathetic treatment of Arthur and King John, which chronology at least does not forbid." (Page 74).

This is all that the leading biographers can find to say about that year, with the exception of a single incident, buried in an appendix to Chambers, the significance of which will be disclosed as we proceed. The importance of the paragraph quoted from Chambers lies in the date given by him for *King John* and *Merchant of Venice*. In this he does not agree with Lee, who preferred an earlier date, as do other students (with reference to *King John*) who base their reckoning on metrical tests. Their theory, however, is not easily reconcilable with the known chronology of the other plays of this period, involving an excessive output by Shakspeare during his experimental years and a slowing up after he had achieved success and would naturally be stimulated to increase his rate of production. Inasmuch as the chronology of Chambers is that on which this study is based it will be well to enlarge somewhat upon the reasons in support of it.

The Merchant of Venice and *King John*, in spite of their differences in theme, the one contemporary comedy, the other historical tragedy, show the sort of similarities which would mark them as nearly simultaneous productions. For instance, in the element of humor the author exploits, and develops, the vein which had proved successful in *Romeo and Juliet* the previous year. Mercutio is re-created in the Gratiano of *Merchant of Venice* and the Faulconbridge of *King John*. Swagger, loquacity and banter are the ingredients of this comedy type, qualities that are brought into relief by the chiding received from their friends, Romeo, Bassanio and King John. Gratiano and Faulconbridge both employ the trick of baiting their victim with a constantly repeated taunt: "O upright judge! Mark Jew, a learned judge!" (Gratiano)—"And hang a calfskin on his recreant limbs" (Faulconbridge). Soon Shakspeare will have done with the stock humorist, and we shall see in the following spring in Falstaff, and in the host of comic characters to follow, creations which are no longer types but have dis-

tinctive personalities. Another trick of repetition has caught Shakspeare's fancy at this time:

"For I am sick and capable of fears:
Oppressed with wrongs and therefore full of fears:
A widow, husbandless, subject to fears,
A woman naturally born to fears." (*King John*, Act II, Sc. 2).

"If you did know to whom I gave this ring,
If you did know for whom I gave the ring,
And would conceive for what I gave the ring,
And how unwillingly I left the ring" etc.
(*Merchant of Venice*, Act V, Sc. 1).

It is significant, also, that he uses in *Merchant of Venice* the name Faulconbridge (the bastard of *King John*) to describe Portia's English suitor. The Neapolitan, German and Scotch suitors are not named. It was, no doubt, a bit of gag originally introduced by the actor as a reminder to the audience of the other play, which was having a contemporaneous run.

But the parallel between the two plays is chiefly remarkable in the display of nautical allusion, of which both are full. Sea terms are sparingly used in previous plays and poems, and then only as the average landsman would use them. The elaborate passage in *3 Henry VI*, Act V, Sc. 4, which contains more sea-metaphor than the rest of the early plays put together, is no exception, for it bears the mark of Shakspeare's later style and was probably a part of the work of revision undertaken for the revival of the play between 1597 and 1599. The nautical allusions have now, for the first time, a vividness which reflects an actual experience with ships and the sea. Shakspeare never failed to use all the resources at his command to create scenic illusion, or to enrich his metaphor, and one never has to guess whether his descriptions of places and scenes are from his own knowledge or from hearsay. He furnishes local color in abundance whenever, which is not often, the setting of his play gives him an opportunity to employ his knowledge. An example of this may be seen in *1 Henry IV*, Act IV, Sc. 2—Falstaff is marching through Shakspeare's own country, so we are told the towns through which he has to go, Daven-try, Coventry, Sutton-Coldfield. A more remarkable instance is *3 Henry VI*, Act V, Sc. 1, where we are intro-

duced to a number of places in Warwickshire—all in accurate relation to each other. Apart from these instances the plays are almost bare of place-allusions not essential to the plot. Where personal experience had been denied him, his ignorance was conspicuous and unashamed. His knowledge of Italy was evidently limited to what he had got from books, or talks with Florio or with some "picked man of countries * * * of the Alps and Apennines, the Pyrenean and the river Po" (*King John*, Act I, Sc 1). He imagined Verona to be a tidal port (*Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Act II, sc. 1). In his ignorance of Venice he refers to it, not as an independent republic, but as the creature of a municipal charter.

"If you deny it, let the danger light
Upon your charter and your city's freedom"
(*Merchant of Venice*, Act IV, Sc. 1).

He was so indifferent about the topography of that play that Bassanio travels between Venice and Belmont by sea, Portia by land. The singularity of Venice as a city of islands and canals was probably unknown to him, otherwise he would not have failed to add some local color in the plays having to do with it. In fact, there is not in *The Merchant* a single bit of place-description, except of the Goodwin Sands, in the English Channel, which will be referred to later.

One cannot fail to notice, by contrast with previous plays, how sparkling are his descriptions of the sea:

"How like a younker or a prodigal
The scarf'd bark puts from her native bay,
Hugged and embrac'd by the strumpet wind;
How like a prodigal doth she return
With overwreath'd ribs and ragg'd sails,
Lean, rent and beggar'd by the strumpet wind."
(*Merchant*, Act II, Sc. 6.).

"The tackle of my heart is crackt and burst,
And all the shrouds wherewith my life should sail
Are turn'd to one thread, one little hair;
My heart hath one poor string to stay it by."
(*King John*, Act V, Sc. 7).

"And like a shifted wind unto a sail,
It makes the course of thoughts to fetch about."
(*King John*, Act IV, Sc. 2).

Reading these passages, one must infer, bearing in mind that there is nothing like them in previous plays, that he had had a new and recent experience of seeing ships under sail. Where had he obtained it? We find the clue in the history of his company's provincial travels. As the result of the industry of J. T. Murray and others much information about them has been collected, for the most part from the municipal archives of the towns where the company played, it being the custom in those days to encourage the visits of theatrical companies by paying them a guaranteed wage out of municipal funds. In 1596, the year in question, the theatres of London were closed in July by order of the city authorities, and their companies were, therefore, obliged to go on tour. The available information for that summer in connection with Shakspeare's company consists of a single engagement at Faversham about Lammas Day, the beginning of August. The entry in the Municipal accounts of Faversham reads: "Item, payde to mye Lorde of Hunsdouns Players about Lamas bye thappoyntmente of Mr. Saker" (Chambers, Appendix D, Vol. 2, p. 321). Shortly before this date, upon the death of the Lord Chamberlain, the patronage of the company had been taken over by his son, Lord Hunsdon. The company was thereupon and until the following spring, when Hunsdon became Lord Chamberlain, known as Lord Hunsdon's men. It is thus that they are described in the Faversham municipal accounts. Chambers appears to be doubtful whether the year of the Faversham visit was 1596 or 1597, but clearly it was 1596. The August of that year was the only August in which the company were known as Lord Hunsdon's men, for in the following year they resumed their title—"Lord Chamberlain's Men" as appears in the records of all the towns in which they played in 1597. Faversham is a seaport at the mouth of the Swale on the Thames estuary, about 50 miles from London, the road passing through Gad's Hill and Rochester. (Localities utilized for scenes in *1 Henry IV* in the following year). Its inhabitants at that time numbered only about 1400, but their civic spirit was noteworthy. There are memorials on the walls of the parish church recording, for that period, numerous benefactions to the town; among such was one by William Saker, whose will, made in 1594, bequeathed £10 yearly to the poor of Faversham, and £5 yearly to the use

of a lecture in the church of Faversham. One may guess that it was this Saker who was the moving spirit in the invitation to Shakspeare's company. Faversham was, and still is, attached as a "limb" to Dover, one of the Cinque ports, distant about 24 miles overland. On requisition by the Crown, it furnished in 1588 40 tons of the 100 tons of shipping required of Dover, and in 1596 40 tons of the 160 tons similarly required. Its interests were wholly maritime. The market place, town hall and inns were all within two or three hundred yards of the water front. If, as we must suppose, Shakspeare traveled with his company, he found himself at a place where, in his leisure, he could watch the going and coming of ships and associate with seamen. He was sensitive and observant, and it is not possible that he could have escaped the influence of this environment. There was good reason, therefore, to associate with this tour the sudden improvement which we observe in his knowledge of the sea, of ships and of sailors' idiom.

But in both plays there is evidence that his tour extended, beyond Faversham, to the south coast and that he had received a lively impression of its chalk cliffs and of the Goodwin Sands. He had already spoken of England's "chalky cliffs" (*Comedy of Errors*, Act III, sc. 2; *Henry VI*, Act III, sc. 2). This was a dull, second-hand description. Now they become

"That pale, that white-faced shore
Whose foot spurns back the ocean's roaring tides
And coops from other lands her islanders."

(*King John*, Act I, Sc. 2).

More vivid still is his description of the Goodwin Sands.

"That Antonio hath a ship of rich lading wrecked on the narrow seas: the Goodwins I think they call the place, a very dangerous flat and fatal, where the carcasses of many a tall ship lie buried, as they say, if my gossip report be an honest woman of her word."

(*Merchant*, Act III, Sc. 1).

"And I should think of shallows and of flats,
And see my wealthy Andrew docked in sand,
Vailing her hightop lower than her ribs
To kiss her burial." (*Merchant*, Act 1, Sc. 1).

Here were scenes which he had witnessed, reproduced for his audience while the impression was fresh. They are

plainly digressions, ill-suited to the text, for which he had trouble in finding an appropriate setting. The description of Dover Cliffs, in *King John*, is put in the mouth of Austria, who could scarcely have been familiar with them, and certainly, as an enemy of England, was not the one to describe them admiringly. The reference in *The Merchant* to the Goodwin Sands, in order to come plausibly from a Venetian, is introduced rather awkwardly through the contrivance of "gossip report."

We are, therefore, led to inquire under what circumstances Shakspere visited the south coast. It has been ascertained that he was at Dover on or about September 3d, 1597, but that was the year succeeding the production of the two plays. The record of this visit is to be seen in the archives of Dover in municipal accounts for that year. They are now bound up in a volume containing ancient accounts for a great number of years. But the accounts for the year 1596 are missing, destroyed (in common with those of other years), owing to the carelessness of custodians in the remote past. Nor are they to be found in the British Museum, to which a number of Dover records have found their way. In the absence of a further record of the company's itinerary in 1596 we are justified in assuming that it visited other towns besides Faversham. Of these one of the most likely was Dover. It is impossible to suppose that they traveled some 50 miles, with but a single engagement at a town of 1400 inhabitants, to return immediately afterwards and disband in London. They had to earn their living. A success at Faversham would have assured them a welcome to the affiliated town of Dover with whose authorities, as the municipal records show, the jurats (aldermen) of Faversham were in constant communication over their joint naval contributions. Their good friend Mr. Saker would have seen to it they had a proper introduction. At Dover, no doubt, they would have found a public of sufficient importance to assure them substantial takings.

We may conjecture, therefore, that the recorded employment of 1597 at Dover was a repeat engagement, due to their success there in the previous year. What makes this the more probable is that the 1597 visit to Dover, together with one at Rye, was squeezed in, probably with some dif-

ficulty, after the close of the London season, and before engagements of which we have a record at Bristol and other western towns in the month of September. Here, then, at Dover and further east, perhaps at Deal, a town which had recently grown to importance, he received those impressions which are reflected in the two plays. It was then that he observed the sea and the coast and, curiously enough, we can conjecture the exact extent of his observations on that occasion, for it was not until nine years later, in 1605, when his company's next visit to Dover is recorded, that he could have made the excursion to the summit of Dover cliffs, which was to inspire the famous passage in *King Lear*, Act IV, sc. 6, produced in the season of 1605-1606. We may conclude, then, that the month of August, 1596, was spent in a tour beginning at Faversham and extending to the south coast of Kent.

But it is not alone for the light which it throws upon his knowledge and his art that this tour is important. It has an especially romantic relation to the play of *King John*. It will be remembered that the event which darkened this year of Shakspeare's life was the death of his son Hamnet, about August 11th. This loss is commonly supposed to have inspired him in the creation of Little Arthur of *King John*, and the most austere critics concede that the popular view has some justification. If the following observations be sound the conjecture is abundantly justified.

Whatever the reason for the choice of the *Troublesome Raigne* as a source from which to make a play, it is certain that he found in it material suitable to his mood. But in undertaking this task he was confronted with more than a mere revision. English drama had, in a decade, undergone a great development. The old play was too crude, in matter and in versification, for presentation to an audience of that day. He found himself committed to a formidable task, nothing less than a complete rewriting of it. *King John* proved to be less congenial to him as a hero than Richard III or Richard II, less susceptible to subtle delineation. All his passion is thrown into the scenes in connection with Prince Arthur. These are, as Sir Sidney Lee has observed, among the most poignant in all Shaksperian drama. One passage in particular deserves to be quoted, because it is

that which most clearly represents Shakspeare's own sensation of loss. Its significance has escaped the critics, who have not perceived its relation to Shakspeare, in pointing to his absence from Stratford at the time of Hamnet's death.

Constance is lamenting the capture of her son by King John:

"And, father cardinal, I have heard you say,
That we shall see and know our friends in heaven:
If that be true, I shall see my boy again:
For, since the birth of Cain, the first male child,
To him that did but yesterday suspire,
There was not such a gracious creature born.
But now will canker-sorrow eat my bud,
And chase the native beauty from his cheek,
And he will look as hollow as a ghost;
As dim and meagre as an ague's fit;
And so he'll die; and, rising so again,
When I shall meet him in the court of heaven
I shall not know him: therefore never, never,
Must I behold my pretty Arthur more."

(Act III, sc. 4).

This is fresh matter, not suggested by any passage in the source play. What he had to work on were the following wretched lines:

"Two words will serve and then my tale is done:
Elinor's proud brat robb'd me of my son."

The reader should observe in the Shaksperian passage the nature of the mother's premonition, that Arthur will die slowly and from a wasting disease. But in the sequel her foreboding is not fulfilled. Shakspeare knew, as his audience did, that Arthur's was not to be a lingering death. He was to die, shortly afterwards, by throwing himself from a wall. Here was a solecism which dramatic propriety forbids, and Shakspeare was too much of an artist not to be sensible of it. In the realm of romance prophecies should come true. Indeed, in the same play we find another instance of prophecy—Pandulph's (Act III, sc. 4) duly followed by its accomplishment (Act IV, sc. 2). This vision of Constance, incongruous with the plot, was, one can only suppose, introduced deliberately, because it was that which was torturing Shakspeare, inspired by the circumstances of his own tragedy, his tour in a distant part of England having precluded his return to Stratford until

after many months of absence, during which his son had sickened and died. The eternal problem—In what form shall we be revealed to each other in the “court of heaven”?—which perplexed Constance, was inevitably one which would haunt Shakspeare, vainly conjuring up a picture of his dying child.

The year, however, was not to close without still further troubles. The closing of the theatres, in July, of which mention has been made, was an arbitrary proceeding of the London authorities, induced probably by the growing Puritan sentiment hostile to the players. It synchronized with the death of the Lord Chamberlain, Lord Hunsdon, a kinsman of the Queen and patron of Shakspeare's company, who had been their efficient champion. His successor in the office of Chamberlain was Lord Cobham, who did not regard the drama with favor. The situation was so serious with the actors that Tom Nashe was moved to write:

“Now the players are piteously persecuted by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen and however in their old Lord's time they thought their state settled, it is now so uncertain, that they cannot build upon it.”

The prospect for the next season in the City proper appearing so dubious, Shakspeare's company sought to obtain a theatre across the river and entered upon some arrangement with Langley, who had built the Swan Theatre, to find a home there. Here again they met with fierce opposition. The full story is told by Professor Hotson, who discovered the court rolls recording the dispute, in his volume entitled *Shakespeare versus Shallow*. It appears that one Gardiner, a magistrate, endeavored to obstruct Langley's enterprise. There were threats of physical violence, each side appealing to the court for protection against the other. Shakspeare, who took an active part in the matter, was made a defendant in one of these suits. What the outcome was we do not know. Evidently, some theatre was found for the forthcoming busy and brilliant season, but as a result of the quarrel, taken in connection, no doubt, with his previous difficulties, Shakspeare went through a phase of discontent. It is something more than a coincidence, to which hitherto no critic has called attention, that Shakspeare, at this juncture, made the momentous decision to adopt, as soon as

his means permitted, the life of a country gentleman. This involved two steps, to acquire a property and to be invested with the arms of a gentleman. He endeavored forthwith to carry out this plan. We may be sure that the purchase of New Place at Stratford-on-Avon, which was consummated in May of the following year had been projected at this time. He could not have spent much time for negotiation during the winter and spring, the busiest period of the theatrical season. The proceedings to acquire land by way of Fine were cumbersome and the conveyancers of that period were certainly not less dilatory than those of today. The negotiations could hardly have been begun later than the early winter.

His plan, clearly, was to retire to Stratford as soon as he had gained a competence and to leave a scene where, brilliant as his triumph had been, an influential and growing section of the community condemned his profession as disgraceful and he was subjected to oppression and humiliation. In the sequel these annoyances were removed or at any rate alleviated. Happily he was only thirty-two years of age and had abundant enthusiasm. The despairing mood was only momentary. Greater triumph to come obliterated the memory of the difficult year 1596, and many years were to pass before he came to realize, in ease and with a sense of his task completed, a project which had its origin in bitterness and disappointment.

A BIOGRAPHY OF AUTOLYCUS

By CHRISTINE WHITE

LIKE so many of Shakspeare's characters—like the grave-diggers in *Hamlet*, like Dogberry and Verges—Autolycus, in *The Winter's Tale*, is the dramatist's deliberate addition to his source; for Greene's *Pandosto*, on which the play is based, does not contain even a remote analogue to him. In the three scenes in which Autolycus appears, he dominates and vivifies the dialogue. One may properly ask out of what materials Shakspeare created this character, and why he interpolated him in a play already so decentralized and diverse. Although Bulthaupt¹ implies that Shakspeare made up Autolycus out of his imagination, and although Hartley Coleridge² also suggests that Autolycus is an expression of the poet's "philosophic depth", yet most critics take him, not as an abstract and purely imaginative invention, but as "all English"³ of the Elizabethan age, as a realistic portrait of a "most admirable rascal"⁴ who "inimitably"⁵ portrays the low life of the day—indeed, the very "incarnation of rascality";⁶ and even Professor Stoll, who is not inclined to see realism in Elizabethan drama, calls him "one of the merry rogues of Shakespeare and his time."⁷ Autolycus, in fact, reflects not only the outward vivid details of Elizabethan low life, but also, in the biography of himself that he sketches in scattered places, he glimpses the social causes and the conditions that governed such a life, and made it all too common in Elizabethan England. In his past and in his present courses, Autolycus, indeed, reflects materials borrowed from four strata of Elizabethan life, the court, minor officialdom, the artisan, and the rogue.

Autolycus, in his several pithy reminiscences, seems to give a rather full sketch of his previous career. Apparently, at the beginning of this career, he had "served Prince Florizell" and worn "three-pile"⁸ velvet; and this implies that, like Falstaff, he was a page, and later presumably a gentleman servingman,⁹ like Fabyan in *Twelfth Night*.¹⁰ "Three-pile" velvet, indeed, does not suggest that he "served Prince Florizell" in any menial capacity, and since personal attendants of royalty, and even of the no-

bility, in the sixteenth century were regularly of gentle birth—the Renaissance successors of the feudal retainers of the Middle Ages—Autolycus' position, presumably marks him as a gentleman. Little wonder, then, that he could put on at will the "ayre," the "gate," and the "measure"¹¹ of the "*beau monde*," become, in fact, for the nonce, a courtier cap-a-pe,¹² and offer his services as "Advocate"¹³ before the king. Autolycus may well have been, like Orlando,¹⁴ a younger son of some county family, whom the economic duress of the age had forced to remain in service even after his time of apprenticeship as a page was over. Although the old system of Medieval retainers and servingmen was breaking down and vulgar interlopers like Launcelot Gobbo were assuming fine clothes together with the airs and graces of their betters-in-service, yet, such could hardly have penetrated to the *entourage* of a prince of the blood royal; Autolycus, therefore, must surely have been gently born. As page and servingman, Autolycus would have been "lapt in liverie",¹⁵ and this livery might well have been of "three-pile," which, having a threefold accumulation of the outer surface, was the richest and most costly velvet—such material as gave to the mercer in *Measure for Measure* his name of Master Three-pile. This livery, no doubt, was the unique invention of his Master's fancy, and "told without asking"¹⁶ who owned him. Thus both man and clothing were the "makings up of a gentleman" and were wholly his "masters", were of his "faction", of his "cut" and of his "pleasures."¹⁷ Hetherington's inference that Autolycus may have been a jester because his songs and witticisms would have "found favor in any court", is hardly probable; for servingmen also entertained their masters with "courting language" and "bawdy jests", and were "ready furnished with a song."¹⁸ Three-pile velvet, moreover, suggests a servingman rather than a professional fool. Autolycus admits, without explanation or excuse, that he was "whipt out of court."¹⁹ In an age when masters used any pretext, even the "breaking of a bulrush",²⁰ to "relieve themselves of one more hungry mouth",²¹ when the law permitted them to whip a servant twice²² for one trivial²³ offense, Autolycus might have been unjustly punished; but Florizell's opulence as prince of the realm, as well as his kindly personality, suggest that the whipping was deserved; and Autolycus' later life intimates that, even

when a servingman, he may have had among his other "Vertues"²⁴ that of snapping-up "unconsidered trifles."²⁵ Autolycus is Shakspeare's final glance at the servant problem of Jacobean England²⁶—a problem that in earlier plays he treated again and again. Beginning with Launce and Grumio, and progressing through Launcelot Gobbo, Malvolio, and Pompey, these figures show an increasing sophistication; Autolycus, the latest, is, perhaps, the most sophisticated of them all. Shakspeare's earlier servingmen, moreover along with their rustic naiveté are characteristically loyal, despite ill-treatment; but the whipping that Autolycus received casts a *prima facie* doubt on his naiveté and on his faithfulness to his master.

His three-pile velvet lost, Autolycus, according to his life-story as related to the Clown, was "an ape-bearer, then a process-server (a Bayliffe), then he compass a motion of the Prodigall sonne, and married a Tinkers wife, . . . and (having flown over many knavish professions) he settled onely in Rogue."²⁷ This last somewhat general term of "Rogue," the Clown later explains in some detail by calling Autolycus a "Prig," that is, a petty thief, one who "haunts Wakes, Faires and Bear-baitings."²⁸ What each of these "professions" signified appears clearly in contemporary books and pamphlets. If Autolycus' statement is chronologically correct, his first means of livelihood was the despised business of "ape-bearer." Sir Thomas Overbury declared that "nothing on earth" was "more pittifull" than "an ape-bearer."²⁹ This career of Autolycus, however, probably lasted only until some relative had him appointed bailiff and thus in some degree retrieved the family standing.³⁰ Bayliffe, or sergeant,³¹ in Elizabethan times was a general term for a petty officer of the low courts. Autolycus was of better social position than the average petty officer, but he was probably just as "negligent" and corrupt.³² He did not need Dogberry's advice to permit a thief—for a price—"to steal out of his company;"³³ for, presumably, he knew the value of such "con-ning."³⁴ His nose, like that of the bailiff of Lancashire, was doubtless "richly rubefied"³⁵ by free drinks accepted in lieu of greater bribes; and he may well have been one of those numerous process-servers who, "when they were sent to arrest a man," would give him warning in hopes of re-

ceiving appropriate "gratitude."³⁸ According to the usage of the time, Autolycus probably exchanged threats and blows for many a prisoner's "cloak, sword, or hat," made lean many a "fat purse"³⁷ and let any vagabond at the "cart's tail,"³⁸ whose "gratitude" was sufficient, escape his punishment with unbloodied back. Indeed, the career of Autolycus, as a minion of justice might have taught him much of the chicanery of his later life. Little wonder that "beating and hanging"³⁹ were terrors to him, who, as bailiff, probably had administered both; and little wonder that he flew over "many knavish professions" before "he settled only in rogue."⁴⁰

How Autolycus lost his position as bailiff, the play does not explain; but he next became a puppet-showman, the "maker" of a "motion" of a "Prodigall sonne," a successor of the "old Mysteries" that were still popular.⁴¹ Then, a more "knavish profession" offering, Autolycus gave up the motion show, and "married a Tinkers wife,"⁴² presumably to secure her late husband's equipment. Countrymen had long welcomed tinkers as useful artisans, and the trade had become "a common cloak for rogues."⁴³ Autolycus' training seems especially to have fitted him for it. Although tinkers, like servingmen, were never at a loss for a song, which they accompanied by the beat of a hammer on a tin pan,⁴⁴ Autolycus' songs, rendered with the "ayre" of the court, must have been particularly entertaining; and his use of Cock Lorel's chant, "Ha you any work for a tinker,"⁴⁵ probably brought both legitimate trade and illegal "booty."⁴⁶ At the approach of a prospective "gull," Autolycus, no doubt, "cast his profession in a ditch,"⁴⁷ and, like a certain brother-in-trade, perhaps even robbed on the highway, "four palliards"⁴⁸ and two rogues.⁴⁹ Autolycus would rather steal than "beg!"⁵⁰ but, when stealing became too dangerous, he would leave his tinker's bag at the ale-house and go "abroad a-begging."⁵¹ His tongue, sharpened by court jests, must have made him a noted "linguist" even among tinkers, who were supposed to be "very valuable."⁵² The many measures of ale that Autolycus, as a process-server, had consumed must have given him the capacity for the "bene bowse"⁵³ that was a requisite of "tippling tinkers,"⁵⁴ and that produced their "choleric nature."⁵⁵ As a "knavish" artisan, therefore, the former servingman and

bailiff under "colour" of "a little work," finished his course in "picking and stealing,"⁵⁶ and so graduated in full to master of roguery.

Autolycus, fallen from courtier to rogue, illustrates the various activities of that vast company of vagabonds, produced by a changing social system, who "packed the towns and haunted the countryside."⁵⁷ In the play, he first appears as a prigman, singing a naughty song that mentions the attraction to his "pugging tooth" of a "white sheete bleaching on a hedge," and his joy in the "quart of ale" for which this sheet might be exchanged; and doubtless with a sly *double entendre*, he admits that his "Traffic is sheetes."⁵⁸ His song is very like that of the prigman, Tom Beggar, Wily Will, and Simplicity:

Our fingers are lime twigs, and barbers we be,
To catch sheetes from hedges most pleasant to see,
Then to the ale-wife, roundly we set them to sale,
And spend the money merrily upon her good ale.⁵⁹

Instead of his bailiff's mace, or his tinker's pen and hammer, Autolycus now carried a "filch," or cane, that he used to kill "a pig," a sheep, a duck, or a goose to furnish his own and his doxy's table; or he might "beat a man by the highway for the money in his purse;"⁶⁰ or by slipping an iron hook into the hole in one end of the cane, he converted it into a "filching-staff" with which he angled for "shirts, smocks, and any other linen or woollen"⁶¹ visible on hedges or in houses. Autolycus may well have belonged to a fraternity of rogues⁶² whose tenth commandment was "Thou shalt take clothes, hens, geese, pigs, bacon, and suchlike for thy winnings, wherever thou canst have them."⁶³ Since he was not a "wild rogue," a rogue by birth, he must originally have been "stalled to the order," paid "a dozen of beer" as an initiation fee, and so permitted to practice in accordance with established laws and customs.⁶⁴ His appearance at the sheep-shearing probably was not by chance; for rogues attended fairs and all rural celebrations⁶⁵ like "swarms of locusts,"⁶⁶ and there "buyers and sellers" alike were "rascals" who sold clothing they had previously "pilfered" or who enacted "new warm orders for fresh stealing of clothes."⁶⁷

When Autolycus came to Perdita's festival, however, he

planned to rise in the world from mere prigman to pick-pocket. Meeting by the way "a prize"⁶⁸ in the person of the Clown who, he perceived, lacked "but something to be a reasonable man,"⁶⁹ he assumed the common rôle of the "counterfeit crank;" and for the purpose of arousing remunerative sympathy, he feigned unjustly to have received a "million mightie" stripes.⁷⁰ While the kindly rustic helped him to his feet, Autolycus picked his pocket, and, offering an old story of "a kinsman not past three quarters of a mile hence,"⁷¹ departed to put on his "pedlar's excrement,"⁷² hoping in this guise to be welcomed at the shearing.

Autolycus' change of "ayre" as well as of "excrement," perhaps, assured his welcome. The cringing "counterfeiter" of a moment past approached the festivity a merry pedlar, singing about a "Smocke" as though it "were a shee-angell"⁷³ and chanting ballads "as he had eaten them;" and "all men's eares grew to his Tunes."⁷⁴ The wealth of the pedlar's sack: the white lawn, black cypress, the "gloves, maskes, bugle bracelets, perfume, golden Quoifs and Stomachers,"⁷⁵ did not attract even Mopsa, so sensational were these "news-ballads"⁷⁶ of "Monstrous Births . . . Judgments of God and other Prodigious and Fearful Happenings,"⁷⁷ all attested, as was the custom, by several eye witnesses.⁷⁸ Such ballads with "Love-songs for Maids," strangely without bawdrie," and an Elizabethan jig in which Dorcas and Mopsa each "bore a part"⁷⁹ have numbed "all other senses,"⁸⁰ and thus enabled the roguish minstrel "in this time of Lethargie" to pick and cut "most of their Festivall Purses."⁸¹ Since printing "had killed"⁸² the Minstrelsy of the Middle Ages and since balladry had risen to such a vogue that "whoever was hanged or burnt, a merry, or a lamentable ballad . . . was immediately entered in the books of the company of Stationers,"⁸³ the ballad-singers, such as Autolycus "wandered up and down the land,"⁸⁴ exchanging entertainment for filched purses. Like most of these singing pedlars, Autolycus was a "most deep cutpurse," one of many who derived so great "benefit" from "pageant days, great market days and ballad places,"⁸⁵ that the loss of a purse "seemed as intimate a part of London as its fog."⁸⁶ Usually the thief had a ballad-monger as his accomplice,⁸⁷ who held the attention of the crowd while he

picked pockets; but Autolycus effectively combined both rôles; with his "good Nose," he smelled "out worke for the other senses," sang the crowd into a "lethargie," and combined the professions of cutpurse and pickpocket, of despised "Nip" and of "Gentleman Foist."⁸⁸ Thus "Shakespeare's contribution" to "Elizabethan ballad-mongers,"⁸⁹ was, indeed, a "prince of quicksilver rogues"⁹⁰ who had all the "traditional" tricks and "more besides."⁹¹

When Shakspeare added Autolycus to a romantic play of strange people in foreign lands, caught in an extraordinary tangle of circumstances, he added a bit of everyday life of contemporary England; for the strange and the extraordinary lose their effect unless there is the realistic and commonplace to supply adequate contrast. Autolycus, the servingman, in his three-pile velvet was of an old and honored class; the servingman "whipt out of court" was of the new but large company of "cast" servants, many of them of the gentry, who, left without means of livelihood, turned sooner or later, to the highways for a living.⁹² Autolycus, the ape-bearer, was one of a despised army of drifters: "ballad-mongers" with "crazy lutes," "bearwards" leading "many bears," jugglers, tinkers, and petty "chapmen" with any excuse for "sheer vagabondage."⁹³ Autolycus, the Bailiff, was one of many younger sons making a vain attempt to remain a gentleman. Autolycus, the maker of motions, was a small part of the drama of England's most dramatic age. Autolycus, the tinker, was one of many rogues, working under cover of the artisan's cloak, who made travel dangerous,⁹⁴ and Autolycus, the rogue, who, with "genial boldness" turned "every situation to use,"⁹⁵ and, to the "delight of his audience," cheated his "gulls" and "coney" whose only fault was their "rusticity"⁹⁶—such an Autolycus must have been "applauded ecstasically"⁹⁷ by audiences that knew their own danger from such rogues, and by people who, as a natural result of an age of "expansion," generally "cherished" a belief in the "possibility and advisability of getting something for nothing."⁹⁸

Although Shakspeare's introduction of Autolycus into *The Winter's Tale* affects the plot but little, it is significant. Autolycus supplies music and humor to an otherwise somber play; his piquant Elizabethan gusto makes Per-

dita's feast not an unreal "assemblage of deities"⁹⁹ but a true contemporary folk festival; and he distracts the spectator's minds from the improbability of the denouement. As lightly as this rogue picked pockets, so lightly did Shakespeare sketch him into the story, and as swiftly as he, on occasion, changed tricks and guises, so swiftly did the dramatist use him to glimpse varying social planes and problems that in earlier plays he had portrayed in more detail. Autolycus' situation as a destitute younger son was analogous with Orlando's;¹⁰⁰ as a "cast" servingman, he was cousin to Malvolio, in *Twelfth Night*,¹⁰¹ and to Lear's discharged retainers; as a constable, he was of the company of Dull, Dogberry and Elbow.¹⁰² Autolycus, the ape-bearer, and the "maker-of-motions," shows the dubious social rank of the strolling players in *Hamlet*—such players as the magistrate legally whipped twice;¹⁰³ and as a rogue, rivals the great Falstaff himself.¹⁰⁴ In his descent from court to vagabondia, Autolycus reveals, indeed, nearly all these causes and conditions of life in transition from feudal to modern society, and so gives to *The Winter's Tale* an especially Elizabethan touch.

Autolycus, who speaks only two hundred-sixty-eight lines, is no mean rival of Falstaff with his one thousand-two hundred-ninety-nine. He exhibits more phases of roguery than Pistol, Nym and Bardolph, and has, at least, all the complexity of Falstaff. Like Falstaff, he is the unusual combination of aristocrat and sharper; like Falstaff, he is devoid of conscience; and like him, enjoys roguery for the sake of roguery. Both are witty; Falstaff more often perhaps, but Autolycus with a delicacy of perception that his predecessor hardly reaches. In cunning he is, at least, equal to the fat rogue; and in bravery his clever profession that he is "false of heart"¹⁰⁵ paves the way for audacious deeds that mark him as the superior of the cowardly knave who believed that "the better part of valour is discretion."¹⁰⁶ Autolycus, the vagabond, who, "mellowed by a touch of poetry,"¹⁰⁷ cannot but "set his cozenage to music,"¹⁰⁸ is as lovable, if not as famous, as his companion in dramatic roguery. Falstaff, whose "very size" for a time "floats him" out of "difficulties,"¹⁰⁹ finally appears in a state of decadence; whereas Autolycus, with all the airy lightness of his character, sails off "successful and unharmed,"¹¹⁰ plot-

ting once more to make a victim of the simple Clown.¹¹¹

Although Ben Jonson in *Bartholomew Fair* used Ezechiel Edgeworth, a cutpurse, Nightingale, a ballad-singer, Don Jordon Knockem, a horse-courser, Lathorn Leatherhead, a pedlar, and Trouble-all, a Madman, as representatives of the low-life of his day, none of his characters equals in complexity or realism Shakspeare's Autolycus. Neither is Brome's Moneylacks, "a needy knight that lives by shifts,"¹¹² a serious rival of the human Autolycus. Perhaps Beaumont and Fletcher's "Princes of the ragged regiment,"¹¹³ Higgen, Ferret, Prig, and Snap, are his more worthy brothers in vagabondia. They sing, feign, beg, and "steal from the hedge both the shirt and the sheet."¹¹⁴ As low-born rogues, however, they lack the diversity of activities and the artistry of vagabondage with which Shakspeare endowed his aristocratic sharper.

Some critics find in Autolycus merely the continuance of a stage convention; and roguery has delighted the theatre at least since the figure of Dossennus in the Roman farces. Indeed, Shakspeare might have had *Dives Pragmaticus* in mind when he created Autolycus, but he more probably took such a "list of articles for sale"¹¹⁵ from the common street cries of just such mischievous vendors as actually frequented Elizabethan towns and fairs. Autolycus may be a "lineal descendant" of the Vice of the old Morality plays. His disguises as "countryman," pedlar, and courtier to evade the law and "to pursue his own nefarious business" may be "a little like" the Vice, Idleness, in *Wit and Wisdom*, who deceives the constable by appearing first as rat-catcher, then as priest. His pedlar's song may be similar to Nicol Newfangle's "Trim Merchandise" ditty in *Like Will To Like*, and his cry "Ha, ha, what a fool honesty is"¹¹⁶ may mark him as the Vice who made "a fool of honesty,"¹¹⁷ but if Shakspeare conceived of Autolycus as the "lineal descendant" of such a stock figure, he moulded his character in the pattern of sixteenth-century England, and drew his lineaments, as he drew those of Falstaff, in the likeness of contemporary English roguery.

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- ¹H. Bultaupt, *Dramaturgie der Klassiker*, Oldenburg, 1884, 378.
 - ²H. Coleridge, *Essays and Marginalia*, London, 1851, 148.
 - ³C. G. Osgood, *The Voice of England*, New York, 1935, 191.
 - ⁴H. Giles, *Human Life in Shakespeare*, Boston, 1863, 199.
 - ⁵A. W. Schlegel, *Lectures*, tr. Black, London, 1815, 181.
 - ⁶F. J. Furnivall, *Leopold Shakespeare*, London, 1877, xcii.
 - ⁷E. E. Stoll, *Shakespeare Studies*, New York, 1927, 480.
 - ⁸*The Winter's Tale*, ed. Furness var., IV, iii, 15-16.
 - ⁹T. W. Baldwin, *Organization and Personnel of the Shakespearean Company*, Princeton, N. J., 1927, 246.
- If Professor Baldwin is right in suggesting that possibly John Lowin played the part of Autolycus in the revival of *Winter's Tale* in 1611, this would suggest that Autolycus, like Falstaff and Iago, which Lowin also played, was thought of as essentially a soldier; for such a conception of Autolycus as a soldier out of employment, and out of favor at court, is entirely consistent with his having been a servingman; for servingmen were, among other things, the armed retainers of their lords.
- ¹⁰J. W. Draper, "Olivia's Household," *P. M. L. A.*, XLIX, 802.
 - ¹¹*Winter's Tale*, ed. cit., IV, iv, 819, *et seq.*
 - ¹²*Ibid.*, IV, iv, 823.
 - ¹³*Ibid.*, IV, iv, 828, *et passim.*
 - ¹⁴J. W. Draper, "Orlando, The Younger Brother," *P. Q.*, XIII, 73.
 - ¹⁵G. Markham, *Health to the Gentlemanly Profession of Serving Men*, in *Inedited Tracts*, ed. Hazlitt, Roxb. London, 1614, 108.
 - ¹⁶T. Overbury, *Characters*, "Servingman," London, 1614, 108.
 - ¹⁷J. Earle, *Microcosmography*, "Servingman," London, 1628.
 - ¹⁸T. Overbury, *op. cit.*, 108.
 - ¹⁹*The Winter's Tale*, ed. cit., IV, iii, 91-92.
 - ²⁰Markham, *op. cit.*, 133.
 - ²¹Basse, *Sword and Buckler*, London, 1602, stanza 10; R. Brathwait, *English Gentleman*, London, 1641, 86-89.
 - ²²C. Viner, *General Abridgement of Law and Equity*, "Master and Servant," XV, 319.
 - ²³M. Bacon, *New Abridgement*, "Master and Servant," Phil., 1811, 592.
 - ²⁴*Winter's Tale*, ed. cit., IV, iii, 90-91.
 - ²⁵*Ibid.*, IV, iii, 28.
 - ²⁶J. W. Draper, "Shakespeare's Rustic Servants," *Shak.*, 122, LXIX, 87, *et seq.*
 - ²⁷*Ibid.*, IV, iii, 97, *et passim.*
 - ²⁸*Ibid.*, IV, iii, 103-4.
 - ²⁹Overbury, *op. cit.*, "Rymer."
 - ³⁰Cf. J. W. Draper, "Orlando, The Younger Brother," *P. Q.*, XIII, 73.
 - ³¹Schmidt, *Shakespeare Lexicon*, S.V.
 - ³²Louise D. Frasure, "Shakespeare's Constables," *Anglia*, XLVI, 384, *et seq.*
 - ³³*Much Ado*, III, iii, 57.
 - ³⁴R. Brome, introductory poem in Mill, *A Night's Search*, 1640, Sig. A3.
 - ³⁵Wm. Fennor, *The Counter's Commonwealth*, London, 1617, 461.
 - ³⁶*Ibid.*, 461.
 - ³⁷*Ibid.*, 460, *et. sequ.*
 - ³⁸Henry VIII, c. 12, in Judges, *Elizabethan Underworld*, xxxiv.
 - ³⁹*Winter's Tale*, IV, iii, 31.
 - ⁴⁰*Ibid.*, IV, iii, 100-1.
 - ⁴¹*The Spectator*, No. 14, in *Winter's Tale*, 177.
 - ⁴²Aydelotte, *Elizabethan Rogues and Vagabonds*, Oxford, 1913, 42.
 - ⁴³Overbury, *op. cit.*, "Tinker."
 - ⁴⁴Markall, *Beadle of Bridewell*, London, 1610, 420.
 - ⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 420.
 - ⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 420.
 - ⁴⁷The "palliard" was a variation of the "counterfeit crank" who made artificial sores by the application of some corrosive like arsenic, spearwort, or ratsbane.
 - ⁴⁸Harman, *A Caveat for Common Cursitors*, "A Drunken Tinker."
 - ⁴⁹Overbury, *op. cit.*, "Tinker."
 - ⁵⁰John Awdeley, *The Fraternity of Vagabonds*, London, 1561.
 - ⁵¹Overbury, *op. cit.*, "Tinker."

- 54Harman, *op. cit.*, "A Drunken Tinker."
 56Overbury, *op. cit.*, "Tinker."
 56Markall, *op. cit.*, "Tinkers."
 57Wibley, "Rogues and Vagabonds," in *Shakespeare's England*, Oxford, 1917, II, 484.
 58*Winter's Tale*, IV, iii, 1-30, *et passim*.
 59Chandler, *The Literature of Roguery*, Cambridge, 1907, II, 53.
 60Dekker? *O Per Se O*, London, 1612, 368, *et seq.*
 61*Ibid.*, 380.
 62*Winter's Tale*, IV, iii, 121, *et seq.*
 63Dekker? *op. cit.*, "Articles of their Fraternities," 377.
 64Markall, *op. cit.*, 415.
 65Aydelotte, *op. cit.*, 96.
 66Dekker? *op. cit.*, 368.
 67*Ibid.*, 368 *et seq.*
 68*Winter's Tale*, IV, iii, 33.
 69*Ibid.*, IV, iv, 687-8.
 70*Ibid.*, IV, iii, 60.
 71*Winter's Tale*, IV, iii, 82, Harman, *op. cit.*, "Rogue."
 72*Winter's Tale*, IV, iv, 802. Cf. R. Green, *Black Book's Messenger*, London, 1592, in Judges, *Elizabethan Underworld*, 255. Chandler, *op. cit.*, I, 122-3.
 73*Winter's Tale*, IV, iv, 240.
 74*Ibid.*, IV, iv, 216-17.
 75*Ibid.*, IV, iv, 250, *et seq.*
 76Rollins, *The Pack of Autolycus*, Cambridge, 1927.
 77*Ibid.*, Title Page.
 78*Ibid.*, x-xi.
 79*Winter's Tale*, IV, iv, 691.
 80*Ibid.*, IV, iv, 691.
 81*Ibid.*, IV, iv, 694-5.
 82Aydelotte, *op. cit.*, I, 44.
 83Steevens, in *Winter's Tale*, 220. Cf. *Winter's Tale*, V, ii, 27.
 84Aydelotte, *op. cit.*, I, 44-45.
 85T. Middleton, *The Last Will and Testament of Laurence Lucifer*, London, 1604, in Judges, *op. cit.*, 300.
 86Wibley, *op. cit.*, II, 500.
 87*Ibid.*, II, 500.
 88*Ibid.*, II, 499.
 89Firth, "Ballads and Broad-sides," *Shakespeare's England*, Oxford, 1917, II, 54.
 90Clark, *Shakespeare Characters*, London, 1863, 360.
 91Aydelotte, *op. cit.*, I, 32-33.
 92Judges, *op. cit.*, xvii.
 93Davis, *Life in Elizabethan Days*, New York, 1920, 190.
 94Markall, *op. cit.*, "Tinker."
 95H. Bulthaupt, *op. cit.*, 378.
 96Firth, *op. cit.*, 514.
 97Aydelotte, *op. cit.*, I, 113.
 98Schlegel, *op. cit.*, 181.
 99J. W. Draper, "Orlando, The Younger Brother," *P. Q.*, XIII, p. 72, *et seq.*
 101J. W. Draper, "Olivia's Household," *P. M. L. A.*, XLIX, 797, *et seq.*
 102Louise D. Frasure, *op. cit.*, CRD, *et seq.*
 103Aydelotte, *op. cit.*, I, 58.
 104J. W. Draper, "Sir John Falstaff," *R. E. S.*
 105*Winter's Tale*, IV, iii, 111.
 106*Henry IV*, V, iv, 119.
 107Aydelotte, *op. cit.*, I, 32.
 108Hazlitt, *Characters of Shakespeare's Plays*, London, 1869, 133.
 110Furnivall, *op. cit.*, 372.
 111*Winter's Tale*, V, ii, 113, *et passim*.
 112R. Brome, *The Sparagus Garden*, London, 1635.
 113Beaumont and Fletcher, *Beggars Bush*, London, C1515, II, i, 1.
 114*Ibid.*, II, i, 221.
 115Stokes, *A Dictionary of Characters and Proper Names in the Works of Shakespeare*, New York, 1924, s. v.
 116*Winter's Tale*, IV, iv, 678.

SHYLOCK AND PORTIA

By JOHN E. HANNIGAN

SHYLOCK is a character in English literature who does not die. For three hundred and fifty years, people have been thinking of and debating him. I am trying not to hold a brief for or against him, but I hope to analyze an objective record. The record is the play, *The Merchant of Venice*.

Out of seventeen scenes, he appears in only four. No one who has seen him on the stage or read of him on the printed page forgets him. His name has passed into the vernacular, with a sinister connotation.

Is it a just connotation? The best-known commentators on the great Shaksperian characters have not given him the attention they have given Hamlet, Lear, Macbeth, Othello. There are those who believe that Shylock was intended to stand by the side of those tragic heroes. They think he is like them in being a dominating central figure; like them of lofty character; like them crushed by a weakness, a flaw in character, a psychosis which became a nemesis.

Hamlet was prince, scholar, philosopher; Lear, ex-king, regal, generous, a bit senile; Macbeth, chieftain, brave, ambitious; Othello, warrior, condottiere of Venice's army, high-minded Negro husband of high-minded white woman. As Hamlet himself said, "these men, carrying the stamp of one defect, their virtues else, be they pure as grace, as infinite as man may undergo, shall in the general censure take corruption from that particular fault." In Hamlet it was vacillation, in Lear vanity, in Macbeth superstition, in Othello gullibility, perhaps also miscegenation. A besetting weakness brought them down at the last, helpless and broken.

In the beginning they are held in public honor and loved. Not so Shylock. Shylock from the beginning is the target of hate. He is the austere resident of a pleasure-loving city, a contemptuous money-lender in a community

that lives high and beyond its means, a bearded alien in an outlandish garb from the foot of Sinai, carrying the code of Moses to the Rialto of Venice. The religion, the laws and traditions of his race are alone sacred to him, his Jewish birth a supreme honor; he fears only the God of Abraham, and admires only the business acumen of Jacob. His powerful tongue can be suave or bitter. His speech echoes the poetry, not the songs of Solomon, but the Proverbs of Solomon. One tender sentiment he cherishes, the memory of his dead wife, Leah, the mother of his only child. In the common speech his name means avarice. But the common acceptance is wrong according to the record, or perhaps according to our reading of it.

Shylock's obsession was revenge—revenge for habitual wanton insult to his feelings, revenge for that badge of physical and spiritual suffering and outrage which in every land, for untold centuries, his exiled tribe had been condemned and forced to wear.

If ever a race is justified in a desire for revenge, it is the Jewish race. If ever a persecuted race has shown little or no disposition toward revenge, it is the Jewish race. Only dominant races who persecute may hope to cherish revenges. In his mania for revenge, Shylock took a leaf from the dominant persecuting Gentile whom he despised. This was the stamp of his defect.

Said Salarino: "Why, I am sure, if he forfeit, thou wilt not take his flesh; what's that good for?" Shylock's reply is one of the most trenchant, eloquent passages in English. It also supplies the clue to his tragedy:

"To bait fish withal. If it will feed nothing else it will feed my revenge. He hath disgraced me and hindered me half a million, laughed at my losses, mocked at my gains, scorned my nation, thwarted my bargains, cooled my friends, heated mine enemies, and what's his reason?

I am a Jew. Hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? Fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer, as a Christian is? If you prick us, do we not bleed? If you tickle us, do we not laugh? If you poison us, do we not die? And if you wrong us, shall we not revenge? If we are like you in

the rest, we will resemble you in that. If a Jew wrong a Christian, what is his humility? Revenge. If a Christian wrong a Jew, what should his sufferance be by Christian example? Why, revenge! The villainy you teach me I will execute,—and it shall go hard but I will better the instruction.

And later he concluded his reply to the Duke, who in a friendly and reasonable tone urged him to show a little pity for the bankrupt merchant:

"So I can give no reason, nor I will not,
More than a lodg'd hate and a certain loathing
I bear Antonio, that I follow thus
A losing suit against him. Are you answer'd?"

"For thy three thousand ducats here is six," says Bassanio in the court, and Shylock replies:

"If every ducat in six thousand ducats
Were in six parts, and every part a ducat,
I would not draw them; I would have my bond."

Thirty-six thousand ducats or pounds sterling or dollars seems a high price for sixteen ounces of revenge, unless you look upon revenge as the essential thing. But he kept his hate within the law, as he believed. No wilful law-breaker is he. "I stand here for law. What judgment shall I dread, doing no wrong?"

Avarice was not a Shylock characteristic. Let us hope that appreciation of the importance of money is not avarice. When a smart race or class is outlawed and its members denied citizenship and land, they will find the way to money. Shakspeare, greatest of poets, was the wealthiest of poets; a purveyor of drama, an actor and theatre owner, he dabbled in money-lending. He peopled his stage with three-dimensional characters reacting to the emotions, yielding to the motives and uttering the speech of eternal human interest, for the entertainment of people of all classes and races who crowded his theatres in London and Southwark. The persons of his drama outlive the ages. They speak the language and live the life of basic human nature, which in part is divine, whispering their quizzical asides to the sagacious and the judicious who understand. How far may we, inheritors of Shaksperian plays, penetrate the veil of magical song, poetry, wit, humor, irony, philosophy, eloquence that is Shakspeare, to the latent truth and justice that is Shakspeare?

Those who see in this play only an unforgettable comedy of grace and beauty, the triumph of virtue and love and the frustration of villainy, are free to do so. From the mouth of pretentious Bassanio, however, come arresting words:

"So may the outward shows be least themselves;
The world is still deceiv'd with ornament.
In law what plea so tainted and corrupt
But, season'd with a gracious voice,
Obscures the show of evil?"

Shylock's voice is not gracious. He makes no tainted or corrupt plea. His outward show is his inmost self, good and bad. Antonio has stung him afresh, in the very transaction that is the cause of the litigation. "Shylock," said he, in effect, "lend your money to me as I am your enemy. I shall spurn you and spit on you just the same. If I don't pay you, you can't exact the penalty. Do your worst. I'll sign the bond, but I trust my ships to pay you on time. I shan't trust you not to demand the flesh." Reckless talk, this, from him who in the clutch can borrow money from no friend in the rich city of Venice, from no one but Shylock, his bosom enemy. Shylock deceives no one by ornament, or falsehood, or pretence. He is the forthright man, fearless and high-headed in his cold Jewish rectitude, a hard man, who seeks no favors. "Let not the sound of shallow foppery enter my sober house," says he, in scorn of his Gentile neighbors.

The character of Shylock was written, probably, as were Hamlet, Macbeth, Lear, Othello, and probably Brutus, for Shakspeare's friend, Richard Burbage, the star player of the Lord Chamberlain's company. Shakspeare is a disinterested umpire. He plays no favorites.

What a counterfoil is that other character, Portia! Portia, the gracious, the witty and wealthy heiress, the charming, high-spirited social registerite, the glamor lady *par excellence* of the Shaksperian galaxy of high-born women,—perhaps the most fascinating debutante in literature,—the gentle Christian contrast to Shylock, the harsh and inexorable Jew.

I would not fling a word against her ladyship. Yet, says

Will Shakspeare, from whose brain and heart she sprang full panoplied in a glow of color and beauty,

"So may the outward shows be least themselves."

She had loaded the dice in violation of her father's will, so that the witless spendthrift Bassanio would make no mistake, the glib-tongued Bassanio wearing the finery and bearing the gifts that Shylock's three thousand ducats had paid for. "A day in April never came so sweet." Her father would have been shocked. After the lucky draw of the casket, the fellow tells her about his uncle Antonio's plight and the cause of it, admits that he is a braggart, and says that it is imperative that he go at once to Venice for the trial. After secretly marrying him, pretending to go to a monastery for a season of prayer until he comes back, she posts down (or up) to Venice as Balthazar, the young doctor of laws from Rome, recommended by Bellario (the distinguished juris-consult of Padua). She had probably never seen the title-page of a law book, but Law Professor Bellario was her uncle and disposed to give expert though hasty instructions to his intelligent young niece, as well as a false letter of recommendation. So into the court she comes, an accomplished scholar and jurist. As we all know, but most of us overlook the point, she is as deeply concerned about the case as her husband is. That is why she comes as judge. She is the least impartial judge in the annals of jurisprudence. She has a clear conception of one aspect of the case—she knows how it is going to be decided. The defendant is her own kinsman by marriage, but Shylock does not know this. The three thousand ducats which Antonio promised to repay but didn't repay had been used for a false show to influence her judgment in marriage, as she well knows now. The six thousand ducats tendered by her husband in the open court to discharge the defendant's bond is her money. Her maid Nerissa, posing as a law clerk, is the wife of Gratiano, the fellow who talks all day but never says anything; he was the best man at the wedding of the judge. He is keeping up his chatter in the court. At her palatial home at Belmont, concealed or displayed, is the loot—or what is left of it, stolen from the plaintiff Shylock's house that night he was lured out to dine with Bassanio, and during the judicial absence of the lovely

hostess the menage at Belmont is in charge of two house guests, dear friends now of the family: Lorenzo, accessory before and after the fact if not principal in a crime, and faithless Jessica, who robbed her own father even of the turquoise ring her dead mother had given him, the ring she swapped for a monkey at a sailors' night club at Genoa, where she stopped for an eighty-ducat dinner on her way to Belmont. The monkey presumably is in the Monkey House at Belmont, waiting to furnish amusement for the hostess when she returns from her judicial adventure in Venice.

We impeach judges for affiliations with dubious characters. We do not revere judges who conceal their close relationship with the parties in whose favor they decide. Perhaps her ignorance of the law left Lady Bassanio oblivious to her legal situation as a harbinger and receiver. If Bellario, her adviser, had been fully informed of the facts, he might have warned her, but perhaps not.

What a gracious voice is hers, as, knowing he is an alien, she leads Shylock on to refuse the money by assuring him that he has an excellent case in law, then making that beautiful but tainted plea for mercy. And when he refuses to fall for her high-sounding eloquence, note the change of tone and the sophistry with which she lays it down that although he has a good case yet his refusal of the money and demand for a lawful judgment of his lawful case makes him a criminal because this lawful judgment on a lawful case if granted to an alien might possibly be fatal to the defendant, a citizen (it certainly wouldn't do the citizen any good, no matter who was plaintiff), and therefore by law this plaintiff has forfeited his property and his life. Shylock had said, "I'm pursuing the revenge the Christians taught me, but I'm relying on the Venetian law of merchants."

How now, Shylock? You have just listened to a moving homily on mercy. You refused to grant mercy to your enemy. Is there any mercy for you? Oh, yes. After you are stripped of your property and your religion by the law which you thought would protect you, you may be merci-

fully suffered to live; but you must turn half of your property over to the fellow who defaulted his bond; he is an ocean carrier, now bankrupt, pursued by a horde of international creditors, who are seeking him out as the suitors from all lands sought Portia, but for a different purpose. They purpose to put him in jail, or maybe sell him into slavery. He will be a good trustee to administer your high-grade bonds and securities and the notes of Gentiles who borrowed money from you,—for the benefit of your fine daughter and your new son-in-law. The other half you will deed directly to the precious pair, reserving a life interest for yourself, and then you will abjure your Jewish religion and become a Christian. You may as well do all these things voluntarily, for if you don't we merciful Christians will take your property anyhow and your life as well.

And Gobbo, the wise fool, who is Shakspeare himself, wisecracks, "We were Christians enow before; e'en as many as could well live, one by another. This making of Christians will raise the price of hogs; if we grow all to be pork-eaters, we shall not shortly have a rasher on the coals for money."

Having made Antonio a trustee, Shakspeare must now bring the wrecked fleet home to port.

And so passed Shylock into the Shaksperian Hall of Fame, not for an age, but for all time. Shylock, your sin was revenge against an enemy who hated you. It was the most rational of all the sins of Shakspeare's heroes. It approached a kind of justice, but you were the victim of it at the last. Some folks sympathize with you, others think you carried it too far. You remain a powerful human character, with all your faults.

Boston, Mass.

THE LITERARY ORIGINS OF ROBERT GREENE

By THOMAS H. MCNEAL

THE literary origins of Robert Greene have been extensively worked out; but information regarding them is scattered and sometimes difficult to get at. The main works on Greene are often not full enough on the subject, and have omitted a number of what seem to be authentic facts. Likewise, they have left out suggestions as to sources which, though minor, may be of considerable importance, and which at least need investigation.

The following summary attempts to offer in a few pages a fairly inclusive gathering together of Greene's dependencies. No promise is made that it is complete, but it is certainly much fuller than is any other work to which one may turn for this information.

In general - though such a division fails to cover certain particular cases - the great influences which have so far been uncovered are four: (1) Lyly's *Euphues* and Sidney's *Arcadia*; (2) Boccaccio; (3) the Greek romances; and (4) Marlowe.

Lyly's *Euphues*, which was published in 1578 and 1579, exercised the first and, in some respects, a lasting influence upon Greene. *Mamillia*, Greene's first recorded work, was licensed on October 3, 1580,¹ when Greene was only twenty-two years old. Considering the youth of the author and the interesting, if badly managed, story that is told, we may call the piece an inspired rather than a flagrant imitation of the older piece. Storojenko finds him copying the model only in mannerisms and modes of treatment;² but Jordan points out so many reversed or perverted likenesses that it is safe to conclude that Greene hewed close to the line laid down by Lyly.³ "Thenceforth the Euphuistic strain ran through all his books with greater or less strength, till he excluded it abruptly and consciously from his *Conny Catching* series and from *The Black Bookes Messenger*."⁴ At least two other of his works should be placed with *Mamillia* as revealing, likewise, a kinship to *Euphues* in more than

mere style,—*A Mirrour of Modestie*, printed in 1584, and *Euphues His Censure to Philautus*, licensed September 18, 1587. In the first, according to Storojenko, the wish to imitate Lyly approaches the ridiculous. "In none of his works does Greene show himself so slavish an imitator of Lyly's as in this, and, we may add, nowhere does he prove himself so bad a story-teller."⁵ In the last, there is a close "connection to Lyly's celebrated story."⁶ Greene's *Euphues His Censure to Philautus*, in fact, purports to be a sort of sequel to *Euphues*, as may be understood from the title.

The popularity of Sidney's *Arcadia*, printed in 1590, after having circulated in manuscript for some time,⁷ turned Greene's attention to the new pastoral movement. He produced two imitations of Sidney's work,—*Menaphon*, licensed in 1589, and *Philomela*, licensed in 1592 but "written long since and kept charily."⁸ The first of these drew from Sidney various elements, particularly the wooing of Sephestia by both father and son." *Philomela*, though not such an imitation as *Menaphon*, is nevertheless considerably dependent upon the *Arcadia*.

From Boccaccio's *Decameron*, Ninth Tale, Second Day, Greene appears to have borrowed the fundamental idea of *Philomela*;⁹ and Dr. Wolff notes that the device of the self-accusation by husband and wife, each desiring to save the other, appears in the Eighth Tale, Tenth Day, of the Italian work.¹¹ For the concluding episode of the novel, Greene probably turned to Boccaccio's *Titus and Giuseppa*.¹² The first tale in *Perymedes the Blacksmith* is a paraphrase of the *Decameron*, Sixth Tale, Second Day;¹³ and the second story in Greene's novel is an obvious translation of the *Decameron*, Second Tale, Fifth Day.¹⁴ Storojenko adds to this list of Greene's leanings toward Boccaccio's great work "several loose anecdotes of Catholic monks in his political pamphlet, *The Spanish Masquerado*."¹⁵ It has also been noted that the story of Valdracko in the *Planetomachia* is, in one *motif* at least, very close to the *Decameron*, Third Tale, Third Day.

Expounder of the influences of the Greek romances upon Greene's prose tales is Dr. S. L. Wolff. In his careful work, *The Greek Romances and Elizabethan Prose Fic-*

tion (1912), he devotes a chapter to Greene and his Greek romance origins. The speculations and assignments offered are both interesting and necessary in an intelligent approach to Greene; and, in general, Greene's connection with the suggested sources is adequately established. In particular cases, however, the conclusions reached are not so fortunate. The reader constantly wonders if Greene might not have obtained a plot or device that he uses from some other and more likely source than the one pointed out.¹⁶ An outline of Dr. Wolff's notations follows:¹⁷

1. From the *Glitophon and Leucippe* of Achilles Tatius, Greene borrowed materials for *Arbasto*, *The Garde of Fancie*, *Alcida*, *Never too Late*, *Morando*, *Pandosto*, *Philomela*, and *A Groat'sworth of Wit*.

2. From the *AEthiopica* of Heliodorus: *Mamillia*, *Pandosto*, *Menaphon*, *Alcida*, *The Garde of Fancie*, *Planromachia*, *Pcrymedes the Blacksmith*, *Tullies Loue*, and *Philomela*.

3. From the *Daphnis and Chlor* of Longus: *Menaphon* and *Pandosto*.¹⁸

The influence of Marlowe is readily discernible in Greene's plays. Jordan states that the relation between *Alphonsus* and Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* is that of copy and model,¹⁹ and Storojenko gives an excellent summary of Greene's indebtedness to the older play.²⁰ The inspiration of *Frier Bacon and Frier Bongay* is, according to Dickinson, Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus*,²¹ though *Frier Bacon* appears to be based on the narrative of *The Famous History of Frier Bacon* and perhaps on a German romance, the story of *Dr. Faustus* (1587).²² *Orlando Furioso*, though evolved out of a free use of Ariosto's poem of the same name,²³ is nevertheless allied to *Tamburlaine*, and may be to some extent a satire on that play.²⁴ Professor R. A. Law finds in the *Looking Glass for London* two borrowings from *Dr. Faustus*.²⁵ The impression that Marlowe made upon Greene is thus seen to have been strong, though there is little or no direct plagiarism.

works do not fall into the groups suggested, and need, therefore, to be summarized separately: Storojenko says that in the *Carde of Fancie* Greene "was indebted to the Italian novelists,"²⁶ and Wolff finds certain incidents in the work that recall *Huon of Bordeaux*.²⁷ The tale of Mulcasses, King of Thunis, in the *Farewell to Follie*, finds a part source in Paulus Jovius's *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium*,²⁸ and the *Farewell to Follie*, as well as *Penelopes Web* and *Morando*, the *Tritameron of Loue*, are made up of discourses extracted largely, as H. C. Hart has noted, from Primaudaye's *Academy*.²⁹ This source was translated into English by Thomas Bowes in 1586 as *Platonical Academy & Schoole of Moral Philosophy*, and it is this translation that Greene followed.³⁰ In fact, after 1586 other of "Greene's writings show large verbal borrowings from Primaudaye."³¹ *The Royal Exchange* is "a collection of moral aphorisms, translated from the Italian,"³² its source being *La Burza Reale*, by an unknown author.³³ *Planetomachia* contains a "Theme similar to that of Lyly's *Woman in the Moon*,"³⁴ and a preface, according to Wolff, taken over nearly entirely from Pantano's dialogue called *Aegidius*.³⁵ Dr. Wolff also finds that the tale of Valdracko in the *Planetomachia* is in some respects similar to Cinthio's tragedy of *Orbecche*, or his narrative version of the same story in the *Hecatomithi*, II, ii,³⁶ Dickinson notes that one of the tales in the work is derived from Aelian.³⁷ P. A. Daniel was the first to point out that much of the plot of *James IV* appears in the *Hecatomithi*, III, i.³⁸ *Pandosto*, which has already been listed under the Greek romances, has been given by Caro a source in a legend chronicled by the Archbishop of Gnese, Tcharakoffsky,³⁹ and the piece furthermore shows some relationship to Lyly's *Campaspe*.⁴⁰ *A Quippe for an Upstart Courtier* is an inspired paraphrase of an anonymous poem, the *Debate between Pride and Lowliness*.⁴¹ From the Bible comes the Prodigal Son motif found in the first tale of the *Mourning Garment*,⁴² as does the story of Jonah in the *Looking-Glasse for London*. Greene's works are, in fact, heavy with Biblical allusions. Twice material is gathered for a tale from the Apocryphal book of Susanna,—in the *Myrrour of Modestie* and in *Francescos Fortunes*.⁴³ Wolff places *Arbasto* under the influence of *Huon of Bordeaux*.⁴⁴ *Menaphon*, which

has been presented as an imitation of the *Arcadia* and as having borrowed from *Daphnis and Chloë*, is thought to have received its central idea from Warner's tale of Argente and Curan in *Albion's England*.⁴⁶ A tale in the *Disputation between a Hee and a Shee Conny-Catcher*, the story of "a pleasant discourse, how a wife . . . becomes a modest matron," is from Gascoigne's *The Adventures of Master F. J.*⁴⁷ Greene patterns *Euphues His Gensure to Philautus* after *Il Cortegiano* by Castiglione,⁴⁷ and Orpheus's story of Lida in the *Orpharion* is from Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, XXXIV, 7-43.⁴⁸ For what I believe to be rather extensive further borrowings on Greene's part, see my own work, *The Influence of Chaucer on the Works of Robert Greene*.⁴⁹

This review of labors done in Greene's literary origins reveals that of the twenty-three prose pieces containing fiction, all have been investigated and assigned—sometimes with justification, sometimes by what looks like a stretch of the imagination—to one or more sources. All five of the known plays have been traced to definite beginnings.

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¹The dates of Greene's works that I use are from J. C. Jordan's *Robert Greene*, 1915.

²Storoyenko, Nicholas, *The Life of Robert Greene*, 1878. Translated from the Russian by E. Z. B. Hodgkiss, in A. B. Grosart's edition of *The Complete Works of Robert Greene*, Introduction, I, 70.

³*Robert Greene*, p. 148.

⁴Wolff, S. M., *The Greek Romances and Elizabethan Prose Fiction*, 1912, p. 367.

⁵Grosart, *op. cit.*, XI, 109.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 84.

⁷Wolff, *The Greek Romances*, p. 368.

⁸Grosart, I, 71.

⁹Jordan, p. 41.

¹⁰Storoyenko, in Grosart, I, 157.

¹¹"Robert Greene and the Italian Renaissance," *Englische Studien*, 1906, XXXVII, p. 346, n. 1.

¹²Storoyenko, in Grosart, I, 157.

¹³*Ibid.*

¹⁴Wolff, *The Greek Romances*, p. 370.

¹⁵Storoyenko, in Grosart, I, 158.

¹⁶Mr. Joseph de Perott has revealed clearly, it seems, that once at least Greene's borrowing is not from the original Greek, but from an Italian translation. See his "Robert Greene and the Italian Translation of Achilles Tatius," *MLN*, XXIX, p. 63, 1914.

¹⁷For analyses of Greene's various relationships to the suggested sources, see the *Greek Romances*, Part II, Chapter III.

¹⁸*Daphnis and Chloe* was translated into English by Angel Day in 1587, and it is this translation that Greene used. See *Greek Romances*, p. 447. Since Dr. Wolff admits that Greene used a translation here, and since Mr. de Perott has found him using an Italian translation of Achilles Tatius, it appears that Greene's ability to read Greek works in the original may have had its limitations. One wonders if he did not likewise avail himself of a translation of Heliodorus.

¹⁹*Greek Romances*, p. 175.

²⁰Grosart, I, 175.

²¹Dickinson, Thomas H., *The Complete Plays of Robert Greene*, 1909. Introduction, p. xxxvii. Dickinson "agrees with Collins that 'the presumption in favor of Faustus having preceded Greene's play is overwhelmingly strong.'"

²²*Ibid.*

²³*Ibid.* Preface to "Friar Bacon," p. 224. C. W. Lemmi refutes this stand in "Tamburlaine and Greene's *Orlando Furioso*," *MLN*, 1917, XXXII, 434-5; as does M. R. Morrison in "Greene's Use of Ariosto in *Orlando Furioso*," *MLN*, 1934, XLIX, 449-51.

²⁴*Ibid.* See also C. M. Gayley's *Representative English Comedies*, 1930, I, 410.

²⁵"Two Parallels to Greene and Lodge's *Looking Glass*," *MLN*, XXVI, 146-8, 1911.

²⁶Grosart, I, 71.

²⁷*Greek Romances*, p. 368, n. 4.

²⁸Wolff, "Robert Greene and the Italian Renaissance," p. 326.

²⁹Jordan, p. 22, n. 16; p. 23, n. 19; and p. 25, n. 22.

³⁰Jordan, p. 22, n. 16.

³¹*Ibid.*

³²Storoyenko, in Grosart, I, 118.

³³Jordan, p. 169.

³⁴*Ibid.*, p. 26.

³⁵"Robert Greene and the Italian Renaissance," p. 333, n. 1.

³⁶*Ibid.*, p. 346, n. 1.

³⁷Dickinson, Introduction, p. xvi.

³⁸Grosart, Editor's Introduction, I, xli.

³⁹J. Cato, "Die Historischen Elemente in Shakespeares Sturm und Wintermärchen," *Englische Studien*, 1879, II, 141.

⁴⁰Dickinson, Introduction, p. xxx. Also, for another suggestion, see my "The Clerk's Tale as a Possible Source for *Pandosto*," *PMLA*, 1932, XLVII, 453.

⁴¹Jordan, p. 122.

⁴²Storoyenko, in Grosart, I, 122.

⁴³*The Greek Romances*, p. 269.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, p. 368.

⁴⁵J. Q. Adams, "Greene's 'Menaphon' and 'The Thracian Wonder.'" *Mod. Phil.*, 1905, III, 317-18.

⁴⁶J. C. Jordan, "Greene and Gascoigne," *MLN*, 1915, XXX, 61-2.

⁴⁷"Robert Greene and the Italian Renaissance," p. 326.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, p. 346, n. 1. Dr. Wolff throughout his study gives numerous allusions in Greene's works to various Italian authors. These, however interesting, I have omitted in my summary as of minor importance.

⁴⁹University of Texas Doctor's Dissertation, 1937.

SHAKSPERE AND THE DOCTRINE OF COSMIC IDENTITIES¹

By DON CAMERON ALLEN

THE theory of cosmic identities is difficult to discuss because it is so closely related to many different branches of philosophic thought. It is an adjunct of numerous theses of neo-platonic provenance; it is allied to the physical concepts of elemental composition; and it is a basic theorem of the doctrine of the humours and the complexions. Through these relationships it becomes one of the pedestals of Renaissance psychology, medicine, physics, and, as Leube² and Cassirer³ have shown, theology and politics. The legitimate departments of knowledge did not share it alone, for the arts of alchemy, astrology, hydromancy and geomancy claimed it as well.

The postulates are very simple. It is assumed that all things are composed of various and determining proportions of the four elements; hence there is a sympathetic or antipathetic relationship between all things and a hierarchy of created matter. This postulate produces certain maxims. It is assumed that a disturbance in the macrocosm will produce a disturbance in the microcosm, that the microcosm contains all the forms of the macrocosm, and that the essential nature of matter is determined by the proportions of the compounding elements. A man in whom earth predominates will have a nature like that of the lower forms of life, whereas one in whom fire predominates will be akin to the celestial beings.

The theory is very old. It is adumbrated in Plato and Aristotle. It became part of the Alexandrian systems and so passed into the Middle Ages. During the Renaissance it was given new emphasis by the members of the Florentine Academy.⁴ One would not be so imprudent as to suggest that Shakspeare had his incentive from the proteges of Lorenzo il Vecchio, but, without question, many minor philosophers of the sixteenth century were influenced by the notions of fifteenth century Florence.

If one looks over the writings of men like Vespuccio,⁵

Agrippa,⁶ Doni,⁷ Cardano,⁸ De Tyard,⁹ Goclenius,¹⁰ Du Pleix,¹¹ Bouaisteau,¹² De la Primaudaye,¹³ Quercetanus,¹⁴ Alsted,¹⁵ Woolton,¹⁶ Dove,¹⁷ and Purchas,¹⁸ one finds frequent reference to the theory of cosmic identities. Doni, for example, likens the head of man to the skies, the eyes to the sun and moon, the veins and arteries to rivers, the liver to the sea, the digestion to the tides, the breath to the winds, the bones to stones, the hair to vegetation, the sweat and tears to dewes and fountains, and the fevers to earthquakes. Cardano lists the various forms of life in man; he finds that man contains the boar, lynx, rabbit, elephant, hyaena, serpent, rhinoceros, chameleon, stag, fish, whale, crocodile, and salamander.¹⁹ All of these writers comment on the relationship between the two worlds and most of them touch on the hierarchy of matter. De Tyard furnishes an illustration when he states that the senses of man are of the earth, whereas the reason is of air and fire; hence when man thinks, he is at one with the stars. He likens the head of man to the sky because it contains reason in which the highest elements predominate. In a manner not unlike Anatol France's M. d'Astarac, De Tyard urges his readers to cultivate the element of fire by surrendering to reason.

Besides the writers mentioned, another exponent of these notions is to be found in the half-shadowy person of Paracelsus. Because of the quarrel between the disciples of Galen and Paracelsus, men of the Renaissance were *au courant* with the doctrines of the latter school. Shakspeare refers to this quarrel in *All's Well* (II, iii, 11), and one finds references to this unsavoury physician in the writings of many of Shakspeare's fellows.²⁰ One cannot doubt that both the man and his notions were known to literate men of the age.

The basic ideas of Paracelsus were like those already cited.²¹ All the objects in the macrocosm are to be found in the microcosm. Man, says Paracelsus, contains a thousand trees, plants, animals, metals, and minerals. To the amusement of Bruno,²² he divided man into a map of the world and may have begot Shakspeare's "map of my microcosm" (*Cor.* II, i, 61) and the geographical description of Dromio of Syracuse's sweetheart. The difference between Paracelsus and the lesser philosophers is that Paracelsus

are like earthquakes, the colic like a windstorm, sweating-sickness like a cloud-burst, and dropsy like a flood. If one knew what produced these distempers in the macrocosm, one could heal the parallel diseases of the microcosm.

All these notions were popular with the literary men of Shakspeare's age. As Miss Campbell observes, *microcosmos* became a sort of set title.²³ One thinks of Davies, Smith, Fletcher and Earle, but the figments of the theory appear everywhere.²⁴ One of the best evidences of the popularity of the theory is that both Bacon²⁵ and Bruno, the two most formidable philosophers of the day, were definitely opposed to the theory of Paracelsus. How many of these tenets did Shakspeare know and how did he employ them in his writings?

The word *microcosm* is mentioned but once in the Shaksperian corpus, but references to the "little world" or to man as a "world" are more frequent. Richard II would breed a generation of thoughts to people "this little world in humours like the people of this world" (V, v, 8-10); Imogen having lost her title, but having found her brothers, has "got two worlds by 't" (V, v, 374); Lear is reported as striving "in his little world of man" (III, i, 10).²⁶ The terminology and definitions are obviously known to Shakspeare; he also accepts the theory of the elements and their attending influences.

Antony informs us that the elements were evenly balanced in Brutus (V, v, 73-75); Cleopatra, embracing death and the spiritual form, is air and fire (V, ii, 286-289); Caliban is earth (I, ii, 314) and filth (I, ii, 346); and Timon, pondering the final dissolution perceptible in old men, observes that "nature, as it grows again toward earth, is fashioned for the journey, dull and heavy" (II, ii, 220-223). Uncle Toby sums it up in a line: "Does not our life consist of the four elements" (II, iii, 9-10). The doctrine of influences is also present. Friar Laurence expatiates upon them in poetic diction (II, iii, 1520) that is echoed in *Pericles* (III, ii, 31-38). The emblem of the sun and the marigold, which Ficino had not scorned to use, is found in the *Winter's Tale* (IV iv 105-106). Like most men

of his time, Shakspeare was aware of the influence of the greater world on the lesser.²⁷

Shakspeare also employed these notions in his poetic imagery. One finds him following the idea that the head was the sky and the eyes the sun and moon. Images of this type appear in *II Hen.* VI (IV, iv, 15-16), *Love's Labours Lost* (V, ii, 203-206), *Errors* (III, ii, 55-56), and *Hamlet* (II, i, 10); the best example occurs in *Antony and Cleopatra* (V, ii, 79-81):

"His face was as the heavens; and therein stuck
A sun and moon, which kept their course, and lighted
The little O, the earth."

The idea is treated humorously in *I Henry IV* (II, iv, 351-356) where the hypothesis is used to explain Bardolph's canary face, and in *Errors* (IV, ii, 5-6) to explain facial reactions. Both ideas might have pleased Paracelsus, but the laughter would not.

In similar wise Shakspeare regards the moist secretions of the body as rains and dews. Pandarus wishes for rain to lay the wind that threatens his heart (IV, iv, 53-54); Richard II will oppose his rain to Bolingbroke's fire (III, iii, 58-60); Gloucester announces that Lear "holy the heavens to rain" (III, vii, 65); and Romeo "augments the morning dew" with his tears (I, i, 137-139). Cleopatra's winds and rains, we are told, cannot be likened to sighs and tears because no almanac records such tempests (I, ii, 143-148).²⁸ Comparisons of the waterways of the earth to the conduits of the body also appear. Menenius speaks of the veins as "rivers" (*Cor.*, I, i, 133-134) and Agamemnon complains of Ajax's "pettish lunes, his ebbs, his flows" (II, iii, 136-139). The fever-colic-earthquake comparison appears in a speech of Hotspur (III, i, 28-31) and in Lennox's report of the macrocosmic disturbance attendant on the murder of Duncan (II, iii, 62).

Shakspeare saw also the lower forms of life in man. One of the sonnets (XV) links the growth of men to that of plants. Lear's elder daughters are regularly compared to animals, birds and reptiles. Ajax has "robbed many beasts of their particular additions" in that he is valiant as a lion,

churlish as a bear, and slow as an elephant (I, i, 19-24). In *Pericles* (II, i, 30-37) men are likened to fish, and one recalls also the animal epithets in *Othello* (III, iii, 403-406). These are some examples of Shakspeare's use of the conventional macrocosmic-microcosmic comparisons in his imagery; he did not, however, limit himself to the bare externalia of the hypothesis.

One remembers that Shakspeare is not loath to suggest a macrocosmic disturbance prior to some disaster in the world of man. In *Julius Caesar* and *Richard II*, the macrocosm's upheaval foreshadows the fall of Richard and the death of Caesar. "But let the frame of things disjoint," says Macbeth, "both the worlds suffer." (III, ii, 16-19). These lines suggest something more. To the old thesis Shakspeare added a new twist when he decided that a disturbance in the microcosm could produce a catastrophe in the macrocosm. In this way he makes man morally responsible for the harmony of the universe. Othello, having slain his wife, is appalled that nature should be calm (V, ii, 99-101). In *Lear* and *Macbeth* actual cataclysms threaten the macrocosm when the accord in the microcosm has been fractured. The tempest subsequent to the murder of Duncan and the conduct of the horses is a direct result of Macbeth's crime. The same theorem governs the play of *Lear*. Throughout the woeful third act, Lear struggles with the tempest without and the tempest within and recognizes their identity (III, iv, 11-14):

"When the mind's free
The body's delicate; the tempest in my mind
Doth from my senses take all feeling else
Save what beats there."

In the end, Lear, aware of his microcosmic nature, offers his mortal hand to Gloucester, who takes up the theme:

"O ruin'd piece of nature! This great world
Shall so wear out to naught." (IV vi, 138-139).

The doctrine of the moral relationship between the two worlds threads its way through the tangle of *Hamlet*. The Prince takes his mother to task in words that reccho the speech of Othello at his wife's bier:

"Heavens face doth glow;
Yea, this solidity and compressed mass

With trustful visage, as against the doom,
Is thought-sick at the act." (III, iv, 48-51).

In *Hamlet* one also finds, as one can find it in other of the plays, the Shaksperian usage of the macrocosmic-microcosmic doctrine of the hierarchy of elements. One discovers in the texture of the dramatic thought a constant struggle between the lowest and the highest element, between earth and fire. One of *Hamlet's* most strangling obsessions is his conviction of the damning overweight of the lowest element and the lowest creatures in the microcosm. His personal sensitiveness to the crowding clay and his consciousness of the animal behaviour of his mother are indicated in the first soliloquy. The attitude is not dropped with the speech. He is amazed at the expedition of young Fortinbras in search of an addition of dirt (IV, iv, 17); he describes Osric as a man "spacious in the possession of dirt" (V, ii, 89-90); he compounds the body of Polonius with the dust "whereto 'tis kin" (IV, iii, 7). He considers his own flesh. If it could but melt, resolve itself to a dew; but unfortunately it sinks lower than water in the hierarchy of elements. This monomania is extended with terrible humor in the graveyard scenes which reek with the thought of the dissolution of man into the lowest of elements. But the howl of the beast, lower than man because it wants the control of reason, is also heard in man.

As in *Lear* and *Othello*, the animal epithet is repeated in *Hamlet*. The elder Hamlet calls his brother a beast (I, v, 42); the younger Hamlet laments the "swinish" habits of his nation and proceeds to consider how the forts of reason fall through the "o'ergrowth of some complexion" (I, iv, 19-36). He moulds this idea and repeats it in the latter part of the tragedy (IV, iv, 33-39):

"What is a man
If his chief good and market of his time
Be but to sleep and feed? a beast, no more.
Sure he that made us with such large discourse,
Looking before and after, gave us not
That capability and god-like reason
To fust in us unused."

Reason, which the expounders of the theory of cosmic identities symbolized by fire, which, as De Tyard said, rested

in the heavens of man as God rested in the skies, is the power which Hamlet considered necessary to lift man above earth, the lowest of elements, and above the beasts in man. Even the adulterous and murderous King knows this, for, seeing the mad Ophelia, he says with pity:

"Poor Ophelia

Divided from herself and her fair judgement,

Without which we are pictures, or mere beasts." (IV, v, 83-85).

This power of reason, of the pure fire in man, forces Hamlet to many sad conclusions, but none is more bitter than that which comes to utterance when he views poor fellows like himself "crawling between heaven and earth."

"What a piece of work is man! how noble in reason! how infinite in faculty! in form and moving how express and admirable! in action how like an angel! in apprehension how like a god! the beauty of the world! the paragon of animals! And yet to me what is this quintessence of dust?" (II, ii, 318-324).

Here is a summary that would have won the admiration of either Ficino or Pico; it is also, perhaps, one of the basic motifs at this time of Shakspeare's attitude toward life. Man who shares with gods and angels in the highest elements is withal a quintessence of dust. It is this fourth and final element that mists his heart with Arctic cold.

Duke University.

¹The material for this essay (presented in summary at the Fifty-Fifth Meeting of the Modern Language Association) was gathered while the author was a fellow of the American Council of Learned Societies. The problem has been treated before by Dr. Ruth Anderson, *Elizabethan Psychology and Shakespeare's Plays*, University of Iowa Humanistic Studies, III, 4 (1927), 61-68.

²Hans Leube, *Reformation und Humanismus in England* (Leipzig, 1930), pp. 12-26.

³Ernst Cassirer, *Individuum und Kosmos in der Philosophie der Renaissance*, Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, X (1927), pp. 92-97, 115-118.

⁴G. P. Conger, *Theories of Macrocosm and Microcosm in the History of Philosophy*, New York, 1922. See also the index to the four volumes of L. Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science*.

⁵"Oratio," *Sphaera Tractatus* (Venetia, 1531), sig. A7r.

⁶*Three Books of Occult Philosophy* (W. F. Whitehead, Chicago, 1898), pp. 55-56, 67-68, 120, 204-205.

⁷*Mondi, Coelestis, Terrastri et Infernali* (Vinegia, 1562), pp. 12-13, 42-44.

⁸*Opera Omnia* (Lugduni, 1663), X, 12.

⁹*Deux Discours de la Nature du Monde, & ses parties* (Paris, 1578), pp. 69r, 88v-93r.

¹⁰*Idea Philosophiae Platonicae* (Marpurgi, 1612), pp. 198-200.

¹¹*La Physique ou Science des Choses Naturelles* (Lyons, 1620), pp. 196-198.

¹²*Bref Discours de l'Excellence et dignité de l'homme* (Paris, 1560), p. 9.

¹³*The French Academy* (London, 1589), p. 19; "The Epistle to the Reader," *The Second Part of the French Academy* (London, 1594), sig. A7v-A8v.

¹⁴*Diateticon* (Lipsiae, 1607), p. 135.

¹⁵*Physica Harmonica* (Herbornae Nassoviorum, 1616), pp. 258-260-261, 265.

¹⁶*Neue Anatomie of Whole Man* (London, 1576), sig. 13v.

¹⁷*A Confutation of Atheism* (London, 1605), pp. 92-93.

¹⁸*Purchas his Pilgrim* (London, 1619), pp. 26, 29-30, 32-116.

¹⁹Pomponazzi makes an interesting nexus. "Quare Albertus in primo suo de animalibus ex sententia approbatorum phisionomorum et philosophorum dicit, quod homines in membris assimulantibus animalibus, gerunt naturam illius animalis: unde homo dictus est parvus mundus, quoniam tota natura tam superiorum quam inferiorum in natura umana est comprehensa." *De Naturalium Effectuum Causis sive de Incantationibus* (Basilea, 1556), p. 29.

²⁰Greene, *Works* (Grosart, London, 1881-1883), III, 143; Harvey, *Works* (Grosart, London, 1884), II, 46; Nashe, *Works* (McKerrow, London, 1910), III, 13; Beaumont and Fletcher, *Works* (Waller, Cambridge, 1909), IV, 129; Dekker, *Works* (Grosart, London, 1884), I, 116, III, 348; Jonson, *Works* (Cunningham-Whalley, London, n.d.), I, 355, 441; II, 28-29; III, 96-97, 98; see also Webster, *Duchess of Malf.*, V, ii, 48-49 and Middleton, *A Fair Quarrel*, II, ii, 54.

²¹Material of this type may be found on almost every page of the *Opera Omnia* printed at Geneva in 1658; good examples will be found at the following references: I, 17, 20, 34, 99, 103, 191, 236, 598, 626, 631, 632; II, 101, 471, 517, 535, 664, 665; III, 63, 198.

²²"De la causa, principio, et uno," *Le Opere Italiane* (de Lagarde, Gottinga, 1888), I, 243-244.

²³*Shakespeare's Tragic Heroes* (Cambridge, 1930), p. 50.

²⁴Gascoigne, *The Glasse of Government* (Cunliffe, Cambridge, 1910), pp. 221, 234; Harvey, *op. cit.*, II, 9; I, 46, 48; Nashe, *op. cit.*, III, 186; Greene, *Plays and Poems* (Collins, Oxford, 1905), II, 133; *Works* (Grosart, London, 1881-1883), II, 98, 254; VI, 235; Marlowe, *Tamburlaine*, First part, II, vii, 18-119; Lyly, *Works* (Bond, London, 1902), III, 55-56, 244; Dekker, *op. cit.*, II, 70, 224-225, 227; III, 346; *I Honest Whore*, I, i, I, iii; Chapman, *Works* (London, 1873), I, 182-183; II, 29-30, 307, 314; Heywood, *Works* (London, 1874), III, 163, 233, 362; V, 166, 170; Ford, *Works* (Gifford-Dyce, London, 1869), I, 57, 99; II, 75; III, 151, 156, 164-165, 166, 169.

²⁵*Works* (Ellis-Spedding, London, 1889), I, 587; II, 641. For Bruno *vide supra*.

²⁶See also: *Rich.* II, III, ii, 152-154; *A.Y.L.I.*, III, ii, 135-137.

²⁷Further references pertinent to this paragraph are: *Henry V*, III, vii, 20-24; *W. T.*, V, i, 93-94; *L. L. L.*, IV, iii, 69; *M. of V.*, V, i, 60-65; *Temp.*, I, ii, 273-274; *Leas*, I, i, 111-112; *M. for M.*, 111, i, 7-11; *A. W.*, II, iii, 24-25.

²⁸See also: *T. A.*, III, i, 221, 231; *K. J.*, V, ii, 40-53; *Rich.* II, III, iv, 161-163; *Rich.* III II, ii, 687; *R. and J.*, III, v, 127-128; *M. of V.*, I, i, 22-24; *M. A.*, I, i, 251-252; *Temp.*, II, i, 141-142; *Luc.* 115-116, 586.

EDITORIAL NOTE

By S. A. T.

THE MYSTERY OF THE SHAKSPERE MANUSCRIPTS*

To most people it is a matter of great astonishment when they are told that the only existing specimens of Shakspeare's handwriting are seven signatures and the words "By me" which precede the signature on the third page of the poet's last will and testament. No one seems to question the genuineness of the words "By me," probably because it is generally known that in Shakspeare's day it was customary for a signator to write these words before his name. These seven signatures occur on the following documents: a mortgage and a deed relating to property which Shakspeare and his theatrical associates bought in 1613 (March 10 and 11) in the city of London; one on each page of Shakspeare's three-paged will (March 25, 1616) and, third, one which was discovered by the American Professor Chas. Wm. Wallace on a deposition (in the Bellott-Mountjoy lawsuit) made by the poet on May 11, 1612. In addition to these signatures, all on legal documents (and therefore of unquestioned validity), there is one, the finest of them all, on the flyleaf of a copy of John Florio's English translation of Montaigne's essays, published in 1603. This precious book, the only book known to have survived from Shakspeare's library, is the property of the British Museum. There are besides more than a hundred books in the world, scattered in various countries, most of them in the United States, which contain forged signatures and annotations purporting to be in Shakspeare's autograph.

The seven genuine Shakspeare sig-

natures are written in the Gothic script which was in general use in Shakspeare's day for ordinary social, commercial, and literary purposes. Persons unacquainted with this script think that the signatures are badly written, that they were written by a person who either did not know how to write or was suffering from some disease, such as writer's cramp, epilepsy, chronic alcoholism, or shaking palsy. To one who knows the script, however, the writing is apparently the work of a skillful penman. How unlike the Gothic script of Shakspeare's day is from our modern Roman hand may be judged from the fact that some years ago an enthusiastic Baconian misread the words "By me" in Shakspeare's will as "25th March." And yet this individual had the effrontery to write a pamphlet to prove that Shakspeare could not write and therefore could not have been the author of the plays and poems which go under his name. It may be added here that the "anti-Stratfordians" almost invariably distort and falsify "facsimiles" of Shakspeare's autographs.

The absence of a manuscript in Shakspeare's hand is always the occasion for astonishment in circles unacquainted with history. In truth, there is not the slightest mystery about the disappearance of Shakspeare's manuscripts. It must be remembered that not a single play written for the public theatre by Ben Jonson has come down in his own handwriting. Beaumont and Fletcher wrote many more plays than Shakspeare did but not a single one of their manuscripts is extant. Of Francis Beaumont we have not even a single signature, nor of Robert Greene (one of the most prolific and versatile of Shakspeare's con-

*A lecture broadcast by Station WNYC from the New York World's Fair on August 2, 1939.

temporaries), nor of Christopher Marlowe. And we might ask where is the manuscript of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, of Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, of Bacon's *Essays*, of Walter Raleigh's *History of the World*, etc.?

The explanation for the disappearance of Shakspeare's manuscripts is undoubtedly to be found in the following facts. First, the manuscripts of the plays were the property of the theatre, not of the poet, and were probably used as prompt-copies. Frequent handling of these documents in the theatre would have wrought such damage in them that they would ultimately have been thrown away—after transcripts of them had been made.

Second, in 1613 the Globe Theatre, of which Shakspeare was part owner and in which his manuscripts were unquestionably housed, was burned to the ground during a performance of one of his own plays. In that fire many of his manuscripts must have been destroyed.

Third, in Shakspeare's day the manuscripts of a playwright, especially an actor playwright, were held in such low esteem that no one would have thought of preserving them.

Fourth, after a manuscript had been printed, it was not considered of any importance to preserve it, assuming

even that the manuscript was not then too filthy and ragged to be preserved.

Fifth, in 1598 the town of Stratford was visited by two great conflagrations which destroyed many buildings. In these fires much of Shakspeare's correspondence must have been lost. In this connection must also be mentioned the fire which destroyed Ben Jonson's private library. In that fire some of Shakspeare's manuscripts and other papers (letters) were probably destroyed. While speaking of fires, we must not omit to mention the great fire in London in 1666 which destroyed a very large part of the city; in this fire many Elizabethan relics, including Shakspeare's books and papers, were probably lost.

Sixth, an important factor in the loss and destruction of Shakspeare books and manuscripts was the Puritanism of the poet's daughter and son-in-law, Susannah and Dr. John Hall, the inheritors of Shakspeare's home.

Seventh, a factor in the loss of Shakspeare relics which must not be overlooked is the razing (1759) of New Place, Shakspeare's home in Stratford, by the Reverend Francis Gastrell, who resented the visits to the place by curiosity seekers and Shakspeare worshippers.

COMMUNICATION

SHAKSPERE IN JAPAN

In these dark days of international estrangement it should be timely to record an instance of the fact that Shaksperian study may still be a living bond between us and our fellows across the seven seas.

Professor Hyder E. Rollins, in his new Variorum edition of Shakspeare's *Poems* (1938, p. 470, n. 4), quotes from the *Wilson Bulletin* of December, 1928, concerning Yuzo Tsubouchi's "'complete translation of the works of . . . Shakespeare into the Japanese language,'" but adds that he did "not know whether or not the poems are included" in this edition. In reviewing this volume elsewhere,* I have noted that the Japanese translation does include *Venus and Adonis*, *Lucrece*, and the *Sonnets*, but not the other poems ascribed to Shakspeare. This information, together with certain additional notes concerning the work of the Japanese translator, was kindly furnished by Mr. Tatsuro Hijikata, Professor of English in the Daigo Koto Gakko, Kumamoto, Japan, and transmitted to me by his colleague—my friend—Professor James Baird. These gentlemen, feeling "that there is too little relation between scholarship in America and England and that in Japan" offer to send further information if desired. Meanwhile I think that their supplementary notes on the Japanese translator will interest American Shaksperians, since most of us know little or nothing about his work.

I quote from a letter by Messrs. Hijikata and Baird, dated January 28, 1939.

"The *Poems* have also been studied and interpreted by various Japanese students. But the only important addition to Tsu-

bouchi's work is the commentary on *Venus and Adonis*, *The Rape of Lucrece*, and the *Sonnets* by Yoshisaburo Okakura (Kenkyusha English Classics, Tokyo), designed to supplement the notes of the translator.

Shoyo (Yuzo) Tsubouchi's task is hailed by every literary authority in Japan. His . . . reading [of] original texts is sound; and his Japanese is of very good style.

His method of approach is to appreciate Shakespeare from a purely dramatic or theatrical point of view. In this respect he is quite removed from [the] philosophical-idealistic criticism of Bradley or Dowden. He has the histrionic or realistic attitude of the playwright. Tsubouchi is a good dramatist in *Kabuki*;** he wrote some pseudo-classical dramas such as *Kirihitoba* or a rather modern version of *En-no-Gyoja*. Many of his works are often staged. He first translated *Julius Caesar* in 1884, and since then he has been translating the works of Shakespeare. What attracted him most in Shakespeare is the resemblance of Shakespeare's dramaturgy to certain aspects of *Kabuki*: hence his wonderful translation that far surpasses the usual tedious translations of English drama by our academic scholars. But this *Kabuki* atmosphere, though it often produces fascinating results, as often fails—and prevents us from grasping the true Shakespeare.

Tsubouchi, moreover, is poor in . . . lyric genius; thus his translations of Shakespeare's *Poems* is unsatisfactory. Unfortunately he was too old when he did the work to sympathize with the youthful spirit of the poems which he undertook to translate. His *Venus and Adonis*, *Lucrece*, and *Sonnets* are very archaic in style, and fall far short of his great achievement in *Hamlet*, *Leaer*, and *Othello*. His *Midsummer Night's Dream* is positively inferior. However, he is the only man who has accomplished this most difficult task in Japan, and he is worth praising almost without qualification."

ALWIN THALER.

University of Tennessee.

*J. E. G. P., July 1939.

**Farical Japanese folk comedy of the late sixteenth-century and after.

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The Identity of George Wilkins

Montaigne and *King Lear*

Stevenson and Shakespeare

When Elizabethans Laughed

The Sagittary

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THE IDENTITY OF GEORGE WILKINS

By GEORGE B. DICKSON

ONE of the most difficult problems which has faced Shaksperian scholarship is the question of what relationship, if any, the obscure author George Wilkins bears to the life and work of William Shakspeare. Controversy has centered chiefly about the question of whether Wilkins had any part in the authorship of *Pericles*, the best portions of which are commonly ascribed to Shakspeare. As time went on certain doubts and misconceptions concerning the identity of Wilkins have sprung up, and I have here undertaken to present whatever meager evidence exists concerning this somewhat shadowy figure in the hope of clearing up some of these uncertainties.

In the early years of the reign of King James I, there appeared in London a quarto pamphlet of fifteen leaves entitled, *Three Miseries of Barbary: Plague. Famine. Civill warre*.¹ The preface is signed "Geo. Wilkins." In 1607, under the date of July 31, the Stationers' Register records, "A tragedie called the Miserye of inforced Marriage,"² and shortly after this the first quarto edition appeared bearing on the title page, *The Miseries of Inforst Marriage. As it is now played by his Maiesties Seruants. By George Wilkins*. 1607. On June 29th of the same year *The Travels of Three English Brothers* was entered at Stationers' Hall³ and not long afterwards appeared in print with the names of John Day, Wm. Rowley and George Wilkins, as joint authors, signed to the dedication.⁴ On October 6, 1607, the Stationers' Register records, "Jests of Cocke Watt to make you merry."⁵ This collection of jokes appeared in the same year as a printed pamphlet of thirty-two leaves with a "To the Reader" signed "T.D." and "G.W." and a title page which affirms that the work was "Written by T.D. and George Wilkins. 1607."⁶ Thomas Dekker was apparently the "T.D." In 1608 appeared the prose romance *The Painfull Adventures of Pericles Prince of Tyre* with a dedication signed "George Wilkins."⁸ This is all the direct evidence we now have which, with any certainty, links the name of George Wilkins to the literature of the period.

The Wilkins family—the name being spelled Wilkyn, Wilkyns, Wylkyn, Wylkyns etc.—appears to have been in England from an early date and to have included men of rank and fortune. The name appears no less than nine times among persons named in early Chancery proceedings from 1385 to 1467, in the Public Records Office, London.⁹ They seem to have been particularly prominent in Kent where in “ye first yeare of ye raigne of Queene Elizabeth” a patent to bear arms was granted to John Wilkyns of Stoke.¹⁰ But the family was not confined to any single county. In 1563 Thomas Wilkins was an alderman of Norwich,¹¹ in 1616, “Walter Wilkins, Gent of City of London” was married at St. Andrews, Holburn.¹² Indeed, the records of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries show Wilkinses in almost every county of England. London in the time of Elizabeth contained a large number of them representing all classes of society and other sections of the country showed them in almost equal force if not of equal importance. References to them in the documents of the period occur with surprising frequency and we should in all probability be justified in considering them one of the most numerous and widespread families in Elizabethan England.¹³

The most famous member of the Wilkins family was John Wilkins (1614-1672), bishop of Chester, the son of Walter Wilkins, an Oxford goldsmith. John Wilkins was made warden of Wadham College, Oxford, and took a leading position in the government of the university. He became the center of a brilliant group of men who founded the Royal Society. Wilkins adhered to the parliamentary side during the civil war, but at the Restoration hastened to make his peace with the Royalists. In 1668, by the influence of George Villiers, duke of Buckingham, Wilkins was made bishop of Chester. His most notable literary work was *The Discovery of a World in the Moone*, 1638, and there seems to be little doubt that the hero of Robert Patlock's *Peter Wilkins* derived his surname from that of the bishop.

It would be interesting to discover some evidence which

would connect George Wilkins, the dramatist, with any of the persons just mentioned. But this seems impossible. Even the discovery of contemporary allusions to George Wilkins do not justify us in concluding that we are dealing with the dramatist, for the problem is complicated by another circumstance. There were other George Wilkinses living in London, and in other parts of England, at the close of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century. Prof. Schelling asks this question: "Are there two or three George Wilkinses?"¹⁴ To which it may safely be replied that there were three and more who bore the name in this period. On the 19th of June, 1612, one "George Wilkins, of the parishe of Sct. Sepulchre's, London, Victualler of the age of thirte Syxe or thereabouts sworne and examyned" testified in the Bellott-Montjoy case.¹⁵ On February 4, 1639, George Wilkins was buried at the age of 50 in the parish of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, London.¹⁶ In 1623 George Wilkins of Stoke, Kent, possibly a relation of John Wilkyns of Stoke mentioned above, was living with his wife, Gora, or Saro in Surrey.¹⁷ On April 5, 1675, a George Wilkins was buried from St. Paul's Church, Covent Garden.¹⁸

So many George Wilkinses living in London and elsewhere in England at this period make it quite impossible to identify the dramatist. However, Prof. Wallace attempted to identify the victualler of St. Sepulchre's with the author of *The Miseries of Inforst Marriage*.¹⁹ It appears that in 1605 Bellott, who, according to Wallace, was a friend of Shakspeare's, moved to St. Sepulchre's and took with his wife a chamber in the house of George Wilkins. Wallace assumes that Wilkins kept an inn, and that Day and Rowley, with whom Wilkins had collaborated, made the inn a "familiar rendezvous." Upon this groundless assumption he imagined that Shakspeare came to know Wilkins through Bellott, collaborated with him in writing *Timon of Athens* and *Pericles*, and recommended *The Miseries* to the King's Men for presentation at the Globe. Significantly Wallace remarks, "I must for the present pass the critical discussion." In other words, these guesses are not to be taken seriously by the scholar and, indeed, there is no reason beyond the similarity of names to identify the

victualler and the author. The weak point in Wallace's argument has been pointed out several times and particularly by G. G. Greenwood²⁰ and Prof. Adams.²¹ There is no further trace of this George Wilkins, as the records of the church of St. Sepulchre's were all destroyed in the Great Fire of 1666. The lists of inhabitants and the original churchwardens' accounts, which have been preserved at the Guildhall, London, unfortunately begin at 1637 and make no mention of the Wilkins family.

There is no reason to identify or connect Wilkins with any of the numerous persons bearing the same or similar name, although that he was *not* connected with them is, of course, in most cases equally incapable of proof.

There is an even more astounding example of different men having the identical name of George Wilkins. The burial book of St. Leonard's parish, Shoreditch, records under 1603, "George Wilkins, the Poet, was buried the same day. Halliwell Street." I have thought this page worth photographing because of the controversy it has occasioned. The reference to Wilkins is to be found on the twentieth line, half way down the page. The phrase "the same day" occurs constantly and is not necessarily to be construed as meaning, as Sidney Lee thought, that he was buried the same day as he died.²² Further up the page (the tenth line) will be found a record, "Cuthbert Solbee a servant was buried the XIX day of August." Everyone else interred on the nineteenth is referred to as having been buried "the same day" until the first entry for the twentieth appears. Whether or not Wilkins died on the nineteenth or on some earlier date is impossible to tell. The large number of deaths each day was a result of the plague which raged furiously at the time, and "the poet", as Collier first suggested, may have been a victim.²³

In 1798 Sir Henry Ellis erroneously copied this entry as "Geo. Wilkins (Poet) Aug. 9th, 1613, buried," getting both the day and year wrong.²⁴ From this he naturally blundered to the conclusion, given as a footnote, that the entry

refers to the author of *The Miseries*. The error was perpetuated, footnote and all, for the benefit of the Shakespeare Society in 1844 by Thomas E. Tomlins.²⁵

It is easy to see how the "XIX" might be mistaken for "nine". But there can be no doubt that the date is 1603 not 1613. Actually the photograph shows this more plainly than the original record, which is badly stained a yellowish hue, while the writing has become faded and obscure. The camera does not record the blemishes which may have caused Ellis's mistake.

Whatever relationship George Wilkins, "the Poet," bore to George Wilkins, the dramatist, he cannot be identical with him, because, whether or not the dramatist's works were published posthumously, very little of them can have been written before the nineteenth of August, 1603, when George Wilkins "the poet" was quietly resting in his grave in St. Leonard's churchyard. The evidence for this statement, which Lee omits from his account of Wilkins, is wholly internal, yet quite conclusive.

The dramatic historians before Ellis seem not to have known of the existence of "the Poet" Wilkins and, of course, knew nothing about the private life of Wilkins the dramatist. Phillips, the earliest historian of the drama, mentions neither Wilkins nor his works. Gerard Langbaine in 1691 gives this account. "George Wilkins. An Author that liv'd in the Reign of King Charles the First, who was the Writer of a single Comedy; besides that in which he joyn'd with Day and Rowley; I mean *The Travels of Three English Brothers*. The Play I am speaking of, is call'd *Miseries of Inforced Marriage*, play'd by his Majesties Servants; printed 4to Lond. 1637. This Comedy has been a great part of it reviv'd by Mrs. Behn, under the title of *The Town Fop*, or *Sir Timothy Tawdry*."²⁶ The statement "An author that liv'd in the Reign of King Charles the First" is merely an assumption. Obviously Langbaine knew only the fourth quarto of *The Miseries*, 1637, and from that concluded that the author was alive at the same time. This guess was repeated by some later writers. Charles Gildon in his revi-

sion of Langbaine's book in 1698 uses almost exactly the same words, "George Wilkins. He liv'd in the Reign of King Charles the First, and writ (besides one he join'd with Day and Rowley in) a Play, call'd, *The Miseries of Inforced Marriage*, a Tragi-comedy, 4to, 1637. Mrs. Behn took her Plot and great part of the Language of the Play, to her *Town-Fop*; or, *Sir Timothy Tawdry*. The other Play he join'd in is called, *The Travels of Three English Brothers*."²⁷ Giles Jacob in 1723 seems to be merely copying his predecessors, "Mr. George Wilkins. An Author, who, in the Reign of King Charles I, writ one Play. *The Miseries of Enforc'd Marriage*; a Tragi-Comedy, 1637. Mrs. Behn is oblig'd to this Play for great part of the Plot of her *Town-Fop*, or *Sir Timothy Tawdry*. This Author likewise join'd with Day and Rowley in the *Three English Brothers*."²⁸

In 1780 Isaac Reed edited *The Miseries* for the second edition of *Dodsley* and wrote as a preface to the text, "George Wilkins, like many other minor poets of his time, hath had no memorials concerning him transmitted to us. He wrote no play alone, except that which is here reprinted; but he joined with John Day and William Rowley, in *The Travels of the Three English Brothers*, *Sir Thomas*, *Sir Anthony*, and *Sir Robert Shirley*, an Historical Play, printed in 4to, 1607. He was also the Author of *Three Miseries of Barbary*, *Plague*, *Famine*, *Civill Warre*. 4to B[lack] L[etter]. No date."²⁹ Reed knew of three quartos of *The Miseries*, 1607, 1629, 1637,³⁰ as well as the *Three Miseries of Barbary*, whereas Langbaine, Gildon and Jacob apparently knew Wilkins only as the author of the 1637 quarto. Reed makes no remark as to whether or not Wilkins survived into the reign of Charles, and it may safely be concluded he knew no more than he printed. D. E. Baker in 1812 was the first to record the existence of the 1611 quarto of *The Miseries*,³¹ but had nothing to say concerning the author except that the play was what he calls a D[omestic] C[omedy].³² Collier in the 1825 edition of *Dodsley* gives the full title of the *Three Miseries*³³ and boasts of his use of the second quarto, 1611, which Reed did not have.³⁴ He seems to have doubted at this time that Wilkins was the author of *The Miseries of Inforst Mar-*

riage and the *Three Miseries of Barbary*. Six years later he noted, for the first time, the entry of *The Miseries* and *The Travels* in the Stationers' Register.²⁵ In 1865 Collier stated clearly his opinion of the two Wilkinses.²⁶ He then wrote, "The fact has not been noticed, but it is nevertheless certain, that there were two poets of the name of George Wilkins, in the latter end of the reign of Elizabeth, and in the beginning of that of James I. Which of them was the author of the admirable drama "The Miseries of enforced Marriage," 4to. 1607, it is impossible now to determine; but the natural conjecture seems to be that they were father and son. The father, as we suppose him, died in the summer of 1603, as is apparent from the ensuing entry in the burial-book of the parish of St. Leonard Shoreditch, where two of the public theatres were situated, and where so many dramatists and actors resided:—"1603. George Wilkins, the Poet, was buried the same day, 19 August. Halliwell Street."

Collier read the entry correctly. He calls his "conjecture" that the Wilkins who died in 1603 was the father "natural". It probably is but it is also quite possible that, since the second Wilkins disappeared after 1608 and the first Wilkins likely died of plague in 1603, the father survived the son and wrote *The Miseries*. When we invade the realm of "natural conjecture" an almost unlimited number of possibilities appear. Perhaps the two George Wilkinses were related, but distantly, as cousins. Perhaps they were connected only through their common relationship to the music.

In 1867 W. C. Hazlitt held the view that there were two Wilkinses, "George, the Elder, oh. 1603," who was the author of the *Three Miseries* and *The Miseries of Inforst Marriage*, and "George, the Younger," the author of the *Painful Adventures of Pericles*.²⁷

He presents the same view in his 1874-76 edition of *Dodslley*,²⁸ but in the latter year he must have shifted his ground, for he then declared Wilkins, "the Younger," to be the

author of *The Miseries of Inforst Marriage*.³⁹ No reason is given for this change of opinion. . .

P. A. Daniel in 1879 first noticed that *The Miseries of Inforst Marriage* was founded on the story of the Calverly murder which was committed in 1605 and appeared in narrative form as a tract in the same year.⁴⁰ This proved conclusively, although Daniel did not realize it, that the George Wilkins who died in 1603 could not have been identical with the author of *The Miseries* and that there must have been two poets of the same name.

F. G. Fleay, following the lead given by Daniel, pointed out the statement in Hazlitt's *Handbook* concerning the authorship of *The Miseries of Inforst Marriage* as "a mistake," and declared that the author "is not the Wilkins who died in 1603."⁴¹ Characteristically, Fleay remarks, in the same paragraph, that the events of Calverly's life, presented in *The Miseries*, all took place before October 1603, without realizing that this statement makes it quite possible for the Wilkins who died in August of that year to have been the author. Later Fleay avoided the thorny question of the two Wilkinses but insisted that the action of the play took place 1600-1604.⁴²

In 1892 Hazlitt was still puzzled by this problem when he wrote, "the question is, after all, whether the elder Wilkins was not misdescribed as a poet in the parish-book, or whether his works were, as often happened, anonymous productions, to which we have lost the clue. Saving that expression in the register, one hand might easily have written all that we possess under this name. Nor is there any other case, we believe, where father and son successively gave to the world notable literary performances." If we wish to contend that the Wilkins who died in 1603 was not a poet we are backed by fact that no existing work can definitely be assigned to him, but we must also contend that the parish clerk, or whoever was keeping the burial-book of St. Leonard's, was ignorant of Wilkins's profession and deliberately went out of his way to call him a poet. This is most unlikely. The book had been kept neatly in the same hand

for several years. The writer usually gives the nearest relation of the deceased, usually the father, which indicates this George Wilkins did not leave a parent of the same name alive. Occasionally he gives the occupation, but often merely the name and address with the laconic comment "was buried the same day." He may have confused the George Wilkins of Halliwell Street with the poet of the same name, who was soon to become author of *The Miseries of Inforst Marriage*, if this author had already established a reputation as a versifier, an assumption for which there is no ground. It is more reasonable to suppose that the entrant knew his man and correctly described him as "the Poet", and that, as Hazlitt suggested, we have lost the clue to the identity of his works. The entry does not necessarily mean that these works were ever published, they may have perished in manuscript, and it certainly does not imply that Wilkins was a professional writer for the stage.

Hazlitt, then, had presented a quite reasonable theory which covered all the contingencies of the case with a promise of probability. In 1906 Betram Dobell wrote, "It is certain that George Wilkins, the dramatist, lived on to 1608, after which we lose all trace of him. There is no record whatever of any George Wilkins besides the author of *The Miseries of Inforst Marriage*. What must have happened, I believe, is that Collier misread the entry in the burial book, substituting '1603' for the right date, '1608.' It is easy in old writing to make such a mistake. All the dramas and prose tracts by George Wilkins which we know to have been acted or published were produced between 1606 (or possibly 1605) and 1608, after which he is no more heard of. The natural inference is that he died in the latter year."⁴

Collier had a legion of peculiar things to account for in connection with his transcripts of records, but this is not one of them. An examination of the burial book shows that the "3" cannot possibly be mistaken for an "8". Furthermore, it cannot be out of place as it is attached to the previous page also marked "1603" and the entries follow in sequence as they in turn are followed by those of the next

page. Still further there is a page containing August 19, 1608, which has no record of a Wilkins. But the suggestion that Wilkins died in 1608 is a fairly good one. He was very active from 1605-1608 and surely had a hand in five works if not more between those years. Then he drops from sight as quickly as he had come into view.

This suggestion was finally adopted by Hazlitt, who had wrestled with the Wilkins problem for so many years. In the third edition of his *Shakespear*, 1908, he wrote: "*A Yorkshire Tragedy*. I think it probable that this may have proceeded, as Mr. Bertram Dobell has contended, from the pen of George Wilkins, and may possibly have been left by him unfinished, and received a few touches from Shakespeare, who was then still residing in London. Wilkins died in the autumn of 1608."⁴⁵ Perhaps Hazlitt was simply adopting Dobell's suggestion that Collier mistook the "3" for an "8", or he may have arrived at 1608 for the most likely date of Wilkins's death on other and more reasonable grounds. It is regretful that he did not fully restate his opinion of the two George Wilkinses at this late date.

Sir Sidney Lee's article on Wilkins for the *D.N.B.* appeared in 1921-22.⁴⁶ Lee checked the entry and found Collier correct. Concerning the Wilkins of the burial book, he wrote: "No other reference to this man has been discovered, and no extant writings can be assigned to him. 'The Poet' may have been father of the dramatist and pamphleteer. He cannot be identical with him. The latter's publications all appeared at a date subsequent to the burial entry in 1603, and none of them can be regarded as posthumous works." After reading this essay Sir Edmund K. Chambers remarks "It must therefore be assumed that . . . the 'poet' was distinct from the dramatist."⁴⁷

F. I. Carpenter has ingeniously suggested that the two sonnets "To the Author" prefixed to Spenser's *Amoretti* in 1595 and signed "G. W. Senior" and "G.W.I." may have been written by George Wilkins, Senior, and George Wilkins, Junior.⁴⁸ This attempt to connect Wilkins and Spenser is interesting but, of course, too conjectural to carry much

weight. Carpenter has neatly eliminated other possible "G.W.'s" but has failed to apply the elimination process to Wilkins. The lives of the obscure "poet" of Shoreditch and the author of *Jests to Make you Merrie* were far removed from that of the dazzling poet-courtier of *The Faerie Queene*. But the most difficult point is to show that "I" stands for "Junior". More likely "I" simply stands for "I" and "J" is certainly a singular abbreviation to substitute for the common "Jr" or "Ir". Finally, there is absolutely no proof that "the poet" was in any way related to the dramatist, but good reason to believe he was not.

There seems to be some reason for supposing Wilkins to have lived in Shoreditch. Hazlitt came to that conclusion in his *Shakespear* where he wrote, "George Wilkins, author of many dramatic and other writings of merit and interest, resided and died in Shoreditch."⁴⁹ It was there, at the Curtain, that the play in which he collaborated with Day and Rowley, *The Travels of Three English Brothers*, was acted.⁵⁰ We know that many actors and playwrights made their homes in that locality.⁵¹ Part of the ground known as the "Curten" in Halliwell Street was owned by a Thomas Wilkins about 1580.⁵² This land became the site of the Curtain theatre. Furthermore, the dedication of *The Painful Adventures of Pericles* to Henry Fermor, one of the Middlesex justices, indicates not merely an acquaintance with that worthy but of his neighbors in that district.⁵³ But a diligent search of the record books at St. Leonard's which record marriages, christenings and burials, uncovered no further reference to a Wilkins between 1558 and 1660.⁵⁴ An interesting reference to this very church appears in line 635 of *The Miseries of Inforst Mariage*. "Clown. I will cry, and euery Towne betwixt Shoreditch church and Yorke bridge, shall beare me witnesse." Just how much importance may be attached to this is difficult to decide. But we may safely say that the landmark of St. Leonard's Church, Shoreditch, was a familiar one to George Wilkins.

The case for putting the date of the death of the author of *The Miseries of Inforst Mariage* in 1608 was furthered by S. R. Golding in *Notes and Queries* for 1926.⁵ Gold-

ing read the prefatory "Address to Signior Nobody" in "John Day's *Humor Out of Breath*," "Being to turne a poore friendlesse child [the play] into the world, yet sufficiently featur'd too, had it been all of one man's getting, (woe to the iniquitie of Time the whilest) my desire is to preferre him to your service."⁵⁶ He took this to mean that Day had been assisted in writing the play by an unknown collaborator who may have died during the interval that elapsed between the writing and the printing of the play, i.e., in the earlier part of 1608 and before April 12, the date of entry in the Stationers' Register.⁵⁷ Since we know Wilkins had collaborated with Day and Rowley in *The Travels of Three English Brothers* in 1607, and since Wilkins's published writings suddenly ceased in 1608, Golding suspected that the reference might well apply to Wilkins.

Whether or not we are willing to accept 1608 as the date of Wilkins's death we are at a greater loss to suggest a date of birth. In the absence of a better clue we may maintain that the author of *The Miseries of Inforst Marriage* must have been a man of some maturity. Both the nature of the plot and structural intricacy of the play would tend to favor this opinion. But that is as far as we dare go on internal evidence.

Of his birthplace, early life and education, of course, nothing is known. But concerning his schooling we may be permitted a conjecture. His work shows him to have been a man of some classical training though probably not of the university type. His introduction of the character of Dr. Baxter, Chancellor of Oxford, in *The Miseries of Inforst Mariage*, might be thought to furnish a clue as to whether or not Wilkins had been connected with the university. But Baxter is a mere puppet and cannot conceivably be based on a real personage known to the author. There is no record of a George Wilkins at either of the universities, although the name 'Wilkins' is well represented, at Cambridge as early as 1474.⁵⁸ A Gerrard Wilkins took a B.A. degree at Oxford in 1595.⁵⁹ But there is no one whom we can possibly connect with the dramatist.

There is no reason to suppose that Wilkins was at any

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time an actor or regularly tied to any of the companies. Nevertheless he has been (rashly) connected at various times with the King's, the Queen's and Henslowe's companies. Fleay stated that "He left the King's company for the Queen's in 1607."⁶⁰ And again, "Wilkins left writing for the King's men, and (1607) joined the Queen's men at the Curtain. This was probably rumored to have been caused by some quarrel with Shakespeare."⁶¹ No satisfactory meaning can be deduced from these vague statements. We know from the title page of *The Miserie of Inforst Marriage* that the play belonged to "his Maiesties seruants." This does not mean that Wilkins was in any way connected with the company. They may simply have bought a promising play from an unattached author. We know, too, that in 1607 he joined with Day and Rowley in a play for her "Maiesties seruants" but what arrangement he made for his services is impossible to guess. Ward was responsible for the statement that Wilkins was in Henslowe's employ.⁶² This idea probably grew out of the connection of Wilkins with Henslowe's hacks, Day, Rowley and Dekker, but there is no mention of Wilkins's name in the diary.

But if Wilkins was not one of Henslowe's slaves, he was probably not much above them. Possibly we catch a glimpse of his character from the dedicatory letter which prefaces his romance, *The Painful Aduentures of Pericles Prince of Tyre*, which is addressed to Maister Henry Fermor J.P. "I see Sir, that a good coate with rich trappings gets a gay Asse entraunce in at a great Gate (and within a may stalke freely) when a ragged philosopher with more witte shall be shutte foorth of doores: notwithstanding this I know Sir, that Vertue wants no boses to vpholde her, but her owne kinne."⁶³ Is not Wilkins, himself, the "ragged philosopher"? another, like Dekker, of the wretched literary hacks of the time, struggling against the tide of poverty and oblivion and sinking out of sight within a few months of this cry of proest.

- ¹British Museum. 1046 d.24
- ²Arber, III, p. 357
- ³Arber, III, p. 357
- ⁴A. H. Bullen, *The Works of John Day*, V. p. 3
- ⁵Arber, III, p. 360
- ⁶A. B. Grosart, *The Non-Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker* II. p. 269
- ⁷Ibid V, p. XXII
- ⁸T. Mommsen, *Pericles Prince of Tyre* p. 4
- ⁹Harleian Society Publication, LXXIX p. 29f
- ¹⁰Ibid LXXV p. 47
- ¹¹Ibid XXXII p. 204
- ¹²Ibid, Register II, p. 46
- ¹³The writer has collected references to upwards of two hundred individuals bearing the name 'Wilkins' in the England of the time.
- ¹⁴*Elizabethan Playwrights* p. 223 n.
- ¹⁵C. W. Wallace, *Nebraska University Studies*, X, p. 289
- ¹⁶A. W. C. Hallen, *Registers of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate*, II, p. 51.
- ¹⁷Harleian Society Publication XLIII, p. 195
- ¹⁸Ibid Register XXXIII. Vol. IV, p. 69
- ¹⁹C. W. Wallace, *Harper's Magazine*, CXX, pp 489-510.
- ²⁰*National Review*, Vol 55, p. 303 f.
- ²¹*Life of William Shakespeare*, p. 400.
- ²²D.N.B. XXI p. 261
- ²³*Rarest Books*, I, p. 202.
- ²⁴*History of Shoreditch* p. 212
- ²⁵*Shakespeare Society Papers*, I p. 34
- ²⁶*An Account of the English Dramatic Poets* p. 512.
- ²⁷*Lives and Characters of the English Dramatic Poets*, p. 148.
- ²⁸*The Poetical Register*, II, p. 272.
- ²⁹*Old Plays* V, p. 3, 1780.
- ³⁰Ibid p. 114.
- ³¹*Biographia Dramatica* III p. 46.
- ³²Ibid I part II, p. 748.
- ³³*Old Plays* V p. 3, 1825.
- ³⁴Ibid V. p. 98.
- ³⁵*History of English Dramatic Poetry* I, p. 435, 1831.
- ³⁶*Rarest Books* I, p. 201 f.
- ³⁷*Handbook* p. 656.
- ³⁸*Old Plays* IX, p. 467.
- ³⁹*Collections and Notes* p. 456.
- ⁴⁰*The Athenaeum*, London, 1879, p. 432.
- ⁴¹*William Shakespeare*, p. 302, 1886.
- ⁴²*Chronicle*, II, p. 275.
- ⁴³*Manual*, p. 158.
- ⁴⁴*Notes and Queries*, Series 10, Vol. VI, p. 148.
- ⁴⁵*Shakespeare*, p. 387.
- ⁴⁶D.N.B., XXI, p. 261.
- ⁴⁷*Elizabethan Stage*, III, p. 513.
- ⁴⁸*Modern Philology*, XXII, p. 67 f.
- ⁴⁹*Shakespeare*, p. 110.
- ⁵⁰Arber, III, p. 357.
- ⁵¹*New Shakespeare Society Papers*, I, p. 31 f.
- ⁵²London County Council. *Shoreditch* p. 18.
- ⁵³T. Mommsen, *Op. Cit.* p. 3.
- ⁵⁴Search conducted by Mrs. J. R. Gilbert of 17 Greystoke Lodge, Hanger Lane, Ealing, London.
- ⁵⁵*Notes and Queries*, CL, p. 437.
- ⁵⁶A. H. Bullen, *Op. Cit.*, V, p. 3.
- ⁵⁷Arber, III, p. 165 b.
- ⁵⁸J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, Pt. I, Vol. IV, p. 410.
- ⁵⁹J. Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses* Vol. IV, p. 1633.
- ⁶⁰*William Shakespeare*, p. 302.
- ⁶¹Ibid, p. 58.

MONTAIGNE'S *APOLOGIE OF RAYMOND SEBOND*, AND *KING LEAR*

By W. B. DRAYTON HENDERSON

FOR many years critics who believe that in the later plays Shakspeare could hardly be Shakspeare without Montaigne, have been showing parallels between the tragedies and romances and Florio's translation of the *Essaies* which was published in 1604 and probably known to favoured persons before that date. Naturally, Montaigne's most famous essay, the *Apologie of Raymond Sebond*, and Shakspeare's greatest play, *King Lear*, have come in for special study, and a relationship has been shown to exist between them. Robertson,¹ finding strong proof that the *Apologie* affects *Measure for Measure*, suggests that much of its argument, typified in the sentence, "What greater vanity can there be than to go about by our proportions and conjectures to guess at God?", may have affected *King Lear*. Miss Hooker² shows a long parallel to Act III iv 107—in the passage disputing the opinion "that man is the onely forsaken and outcast creature, naked on the bare earth," etc. Taylor,³ in addition to this, shows precedent in the essay for the "unfee'd lawyer" of the play (I iv 142—); for the latter part of the Dover cliff passage (IV vi 23—); and for "When the mind's free, The body's delicate," etc., of III iv 6—. Also he shows a remarkable connection between the essay *Of the Affection of Fathers to their Children* and Edmund's speeches, as well as other striking but smaller resemblances between other essays and the play. Perhaps, in addition to these critics, one may also name T. S. Eliot.⁴ As long ago as 1919, and surely not while he was thinking about the *Dream* or the *Tempest*, he wrote: "We need to know a great many facts in Shakspeare's biography: and we should like to know whether, and when, and at the same time as what personal experience he read the *Apologie* . . ."⁵

This present essay will attempt to go as far as possible in the direction its predecessors pointed out. And particularly it will try to satisfy at least part of the desire Mr. Eliot

expressed, by showing inducements to believe that Shakspeare read the *Apologie* carefully, or re-read it, some time before he wrote, or while he was writing, *King Lear*; and that he used it as a rich mine from which he extracted, or from which he enriched, most of the "discreet judgments" in which the play now abounds. I use that last phrase from the Elizabethan critic Puttenham, whose *Arte of English Poesie* Shakspeare knew well: "Poesie . . . is a metricall speech corrected and reformed by discreet judgements." Montaigne was full of such judgements: plundered from antiquity, or promoted by his own experience. Not all of them are "discreet" in the modern sense: but even those least so from one point of view, might deserve the description from another. They possess the discreteness of freedom. And, fortunately for a dramatist searching among them, they can say "aye" and "no" too, which, though it be bad divinity, as *King Lear* suggests, makes good conflict.

The old play of *King Leir and His Three Daughters*, the chief source of *King Lear*, needed to be "corrected and reformed." Sufficient in action, it was poor in the thought element. Not wholly lacking in language, for it gave a score of suggestions to its successors; and not wholly wanting in dramatic power, for some of its scenes easily, and some after rare change and rearrangement have come into absolute greatness, its general level is that of a plain Morality. Leir has moments of Lear-like flame ("Peace, bastard imp!"); but on the whole he is a simple old man who rules over a country about which little more can be said. He casts off his favourite daughter and suffers in mind and body because of it, and because of his two evil daughters. The good daughter is a model of Christian charity, and forgives her father, with whom God unites her finally when all the enemies are chased away, so as to show that He regards the ways of men and watches over those that serve Him. When all is over it is hard to say what benefit either Leir or Cordella have received from their sufferings, beyond a better knowledge of each other and of Gonorill and Ragan.

Shakspeare transformed that old man into a Renaissance

God-King: his Albion becomes a province or a digest of Saint Paul's "whole creation (that) groaneth and travaileth in pain together"; though he is violent and commits folly, he possesses great intelligence and executive ability; the sufferings he undergoes register in a mind whose scope grows as wide as human society; ultimately he is purged by such pains and benefits as Christianity, and the Christian humanists, had prescribed for the salvation of such a soul; Cordelia becomes in the strictest sense an instrument of redemption; the conclusion, quite contrary to the old play, cuts away all temporal happiness and every material prop to faith in a spiritual order, leaving with some minds a sense of utter disaster, and with others only a secret sense of some final value which has been attained, intangible and incommunicable. For almost all of these changes Montaigne offered suggestions, which Shakspeare took in his own way. This way was a combination of humility and authority, for he listened intently to both the yes and the no of the argument, accepted one or the other or both as the purposes of drama might be served best, and stopping easily and often, converted even trifles⁶ into objects of value. The main argument did not need to be distorted for this purpose. It was already set upon the correction of the Renaissance man in his pride of intellect and possessions, and more particularly of the Renaissance God-King.

Shakspeare and Montaigne approach this Absolutist problem of their age from different points of view. In the *Apologie*, Montaigne is iconoclastic: perhaps because there were no God-King idols in France, as there were in countries where the King had been set up against both feudalism and the Papacy; perhaps because the Civil Wars hid from him any possibility of union between the pride of life, and Equanimity which he loved. Shakspeare believes in kingliness: perhaps because he was an Englishman, and shared his countrymen's attitude towards the Tudors, perhaps because he was a dramatic poet loving power. He had grown up when the Renaissance and the Reformation were running parallel in England, and shared in the hope that they might come to a single climax. The Machiavellian lion might some day lie down with the Castiglionean lamb: or

there might be, what Sidney had imagined, a Basilius king who would unite "those virtues which get admiration, as depth of wisdom, height of courage, and largeness of magnificence" with "those that stir affection, as truth of word, meekness, courtesy, mercifulness, and liberality." A little later Bacon can say with sound worldly wisdom that it is only poetry which can make such junctures, and "at pleasure join that which nature hath severed and sever that which nature hath joined." But as Shakspeare was a poet, and perhaps one of the poets who caused Bacon to reflect as he did, this comment does not deter us from seeing, but aids us to see, that such a synthesis of values as is here suggested is the goal of experience in the tragedies. Hamlet before the end unites enough practise to his theory, and experience of "foul" to his adoration of "fair" to "crack a noble heart": Othello joins lover to soldier, and dies as much from the double vision of the splendour of the world as by his sword: Lear, putting off some real folly, and assimilating the wisdom of the Fool and the love of Cordelia, becomes Sidney's ideal king.

Concisely, then, the differences being admitted, essay and play have this relationship: Montaigne deals with those Renaissance assumptions of man's importance in the universe which culminate in the institution of the absolute type of ruler, the God-King. He rebukes these assumptions as egregious folly: strips the God-King into his shirt; desires (in his mood) to make him "bite and snarle at the ground"; ridicules all pretention of knowledge; and finds salvation for man in revealed religion alone, or seems to do so to readers like myself who take his confession of faith as honest within its limits, even though it is almost wholly separate from his normally pagan way of thinking. Shakspeare deals with the same pretensions, and uses the same means to correct them, except for these differences: He makes us glory in sovereignty, and in the higher knowledge which is poetry: Lear, even stripped into his shirt and confessing abjectness is "every inch a king" to the last. Also, because he knew what Love was and what Beauty, and because the old play helped him in this same direction, and the woman-worship of the *Arcadia*, he gave us Cordelia. Nonetheless,

Cordelia dead, and Lear dead, if our business at the end be anything besides universal woe, it is, in the play as in the essay, by grace alone.

The first "discreet judgment" of the play is that of the God-King. The Renaissance had created him, and at least from the time when Charles V had been proclaimed "*Mundi totius dominus, universis dominus*," until the time when the *Roi Soleil* shone upon France, much of Europe did not need to be told what he was. It did need to be told what he ought to be: and Shakspeare with his contemporaries, on the lower level of the English historical kings, had canvassed "the king-becoming virtues" and stepped up here and there to those attributes of "sovereignty, knowledge, reason," "sway, revenue, execution" which come to their zenith in King Lear. The old play had nothing of this to offer, except the phrase which occurs three times, "monarch of the world." Perhaps the help Montaigne offered to create such a concept was needless, seeing that the stage and the courts already illustrated or suggested it in so many ways. But Montaigne surely did offer help, and there is no way of disproving our notion that Shakespeare made use of it. He creates the idea of the God-King as he destroys it: "Is it possible?" he says,

"Is it possible to imagine anything so ridiculous, as this miserable and wretched creature, which is not so much as master of himselfe, exposed and subject to "offences of all things, and yet dareth call himselfe Master and Emperour of this Universe? . . . Who hath sealed him this patent?" (139) "The meanes I use to suppress this frenzy, and which seemeth the fittest for my purpose, is to crush, and trample this humane pride and fiercenesse under foot, to make them feeble the emptinesse, vacuitie, and no worth of man: and violently to pull out of their hands, the silly weapons of their reason: to make them stoope, and bite and snarle at the ground, under the authority and reverence of Gods Majesty" (137). "So long as man shall be perswaded to have meanes of power of himselfe, so long will he denie, and never acknowledge what he oweth unto his Master . . . He must be stripped into his shirt" (188).

For all his acknowledgement of "the operation of the orbs from whom we do exist and cease to be," King Lear is such a universal 'master and emperour' when the play opens.

and long after. He is self-worshipping and dynastic: an orator, a law-giver, an administrator, a soldier: "I have sworn, I am firm" (I, i, 248); "when I do stare see how the subject quakes" . . . "ay, every inch a king" (IV, vi, 110). His divine right, *L'état c'est moi*, evident everywhere, is blatant in his rebuke of Cordelia with the accent of Tudor fatherhood (Suffolk to Lady Jane Grey, or Capulet to Juliet) which Henry VIII had brought in, to legitimize or bastardize children at whim. If he could hold such an opinion of her, nobody subject to him could escape it: "Better thou Hadst not been born than not to have pleased me better" (I, i, 236—). Perhaps Lear also had moods, as he suggests later, in which he believed all that his courtiers told him: and thought "ay" and "no" too" to be good divinity: and held that the thunder should peace at his bidding (IV vi 98-108), all the elements being his "servile ministers" (III, ii, 21), and that his own body was "ague-proof." It is certain, as he is a Renaissance sovereign, that he is clothed as France's derived phrase of "many folds of favour" suggests (I, i, 221), and that other phrase which Lear himself applies to Goneril, "why, nature needs not what thou gorgeous wear'st" (II, iv, 271). Not a young Henry VIII nor Francis I at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, with velvets and silks and collars of cut diamonds, not the more matured Henry as Holbein has shown him, all pleached with gold, he must in his stage costume have shown some of those sumptuosities which the great of that day, even more than the rich of ours, used to change their condition from that of "naked and unaccomodated man," owing nothing to other men or animals or the richness of vegetable and mineral nature. Also, in a simpler way he is the lord of creation, and in accord with the current fashion of that time, the lower animals are in his train to assert it. Speaking broadly, it was the age of Mantegna's "Triumph of Caesar" and Andrea del Sarto's "Tribute of the Animals (or "Tribute of Egypt) to Caesar." Sforza visiting Florence in 1472 was conducted by a great company which included fifty war-horses with saddles of gold, and five hundred couples of hounds. Charles V entered Valladolid in 1518 with a procession headed by thirty falconers, birds on fist, and including twenty led chargers belonging

to the king. Benozzo Gozzoli's fresco of the procession of the Magi, in the Medici-Riccardi palace, includes an ape, a baboon, a hunting cheetah, hounds and the ridden horses. King James, as it were while Shakspeare was composing *King Lear*

(Rumour, thou doest loose thine aymes!

This is not Jove, but one as great, King James:

(Nichols: *Progresses*, I, 373)

received an ambassador from the Arch-duke, "that hath brought the king a dozen gallant mares, all with foal, four ambling horses and two stallions, all coursers of Pisa." The same James amused himself one day by lowering down a live lamb to his lions in their pit that he might see what he expected. The lions behaved as Montaigne would have them when he is maintaining the moral superiority of "the lower animals" to man. King Lear, to return to him specifically, should, I think, be understood in terms of this implied pattern of "The Tribute of the Animals"; otherwise we lose the full force of its inverse, "The Insult of the Animals" of which the play gives much. He possesses horses and hounds, and Abbey did well to introduce a hound into his picture of the Abdication, though the text admits none definitely until the fourth scene where the king returns from hunting, and Lady, the brach, stands in front of the open fire, absorbing it, envied by the Fool.

In his conceit, then, King Lear is as Montaigne describes his pattern, "the onely absolute creature in this world's frame," and it is at least possible that he is so because Shakspeare got the pattern from the essay. This cannot be proved. But it is further suggested by two smaller correspondences. The first, in the play's arrangement, is Lear's knowledge of territory. After Goneril has praised him, he says to her (there is nothing at all like it in the old play), tracing on a map:

Of all these bounds, even from this line to this,
With shadowy forest and with champains rich'd,
With plenteous rivers and wide-skirted meads,
We make thee lady . . . (I i 65—).

Montaigne's passage runs:

"As Plutarke saith, of the off-spring of Histories, that after the manner of Cards or Maps, the utmost limits of knowne Countries, are set downe to the full of thicke marrish grounds, shady forests, desart and uncouth places" (254).

The second suggests the whole pattern of the absolute creature, but I take it now as a part, because Shakspeare enters it as such. Montaigne speaks of man's attempts to dignify himself:

"Let us but somewhat consider, what (Astrology) saith of ourselves, and of our texture. There is no more retrogradation, trepidation, augmentation, recoyling, and violence in the Starres and celestial bodies, than they have fained and devised in this poore seely little body of man. Verily they have thence had reason to name it Microcosmos, or little world . . . (245).

Even admitting that the disparages man's arrogance to value his being against the weight of the cosmos, whereas the next following passage from the play almost glorifies it, the connection is plain between Montaigne and Shakspeare's description of King Lear on the heath: bewildered, but not mad; maintaining, or trying to maintain his pride of life—

Contending with the fretful element;

.....tears his white hair,
Which the impetuous blasts, with eyeless rage,
Catch in their fury, and make nothing of;
Strives in his little world of man to outscorn
The to-and-fro-conflicting wind and rain (III, i, 4—).

Given then the God-King the question is, what shall be done with him? The Humanists say, "In his own conceit he is Everything, all Knowledge, and all Strength. He must be opposed by Weakness and Foolishness and brought to Nothing." Saint Paul had taught so: "Because the foolishness of God is wiser than men: and the weakness of God is stronger than men" . . . "God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty . . . yea; and the things which are not" (that is the "Nothings") "to bring to nought things that are" (I Cor. i, 25-28). Erasmus, learning this, had made it one of the bases of his *Praise of Folly*. More had shared it with him. Cal-

vin's gloss upon it is large and plain. Montaigne follows, and quotes the original freely:

"Nor can nothing of ours, in what manner soever be either compared or referred unto divine nature, that doth not blemish or defile the same with as much imperfection . . . The weaknesse of God is stronger than men: and the foolishness of God is wiser than men (*I Cor. i, 25*) (229); "let us add nothing of our own unto it" (celestial knowledge) "but obedience and subjection: For (as it is written) *I will confound the wisdom of the wise, and destroy the understanding of the prudent* . . . Hath not God made the wisdom of this world foolishness?" (201).

It is to note also that, as if carried away by the very words, he makes a considerable play upon the word "nothing": "Let us add *nothing* of our own unto it"; . . . "to have learned *nothing*"; "he knew that he knew *nothing*"; "almost all the ancients affirmed *nothing* may be known, *nothing* perceived, *nothing* understood"; "speake I must, but so as I avouch *nothing*" (202); "the sweetest life I wis, in knowing *nothing* is" (196) "at last bring man to nothing" (193); "Man is a thing of nothing" (199); "because *nothing* is made of *nothing*: God was not able to frame the world without matter? What? Hath God delivered into our hands the keys and the strongest wards of His infinite puissance . . . ?

All things that are, with heav'n, with sea, with land,
To th' whole summe of th' whole summe, as nothing stand" (229).

There is nothing novel, it is true, in *Ex nihilo nihil fit*. Also the old play had begun to sound this theme of nothings, for Cordella says "He loved me not and therefore gave me nothing": and Paphlagonia in the "Arcadia" suggests it, "I had left myself nothing but the name of king": all of which nothings may be something here. But even so, remembering Shakspeare's impressionability, I think it likely that Montaigne's suggestion is responsible for what becomes a *leit motiv* of the play. This is first sounded by Cordelia replying to her father's demand in the first scene that she should speak her love for him, "Nothing, my lord," and in his astonished reiteration of it, "Nothing?" . . . Nothing will come of nothing." Other occasions follow: "Nothing: I have sworn: I am firm" (l. 248); Edmund says he is

reading "nothing"; Gloucester replies, "the quality of nothing hath not such need to hide itself" (ii 32-37); Kent says, "Thiſ is nothing, Fool" (iv 14); the Fool says, "Can you make no use of nothing, nuncle?"; to which Lear replies, "Why, no, boy: nothing can be made out of nothing" (l. 145) and finally, after the "tempestuous blasts" have "made nothing" of his words and his gestures and his torn hair, Lear himself is brought to say "No, I will be the pattern of patience; I will say nothing" (III, i, 37—). True, the old Leir become "the myrroure of mild patience . . . and never gives reply"; so perhaps all that Montaigne did here was to point the donnee. And yet, as the number of suggestions he probably gave increase in number, what pointing it was! Even the final phrase, "the pattern of all patience," so familiar to us now, may have been set going by Florio's translation. It appears in another essay, *Of Physiognamy*, in a context describing the endurance of the poor. How simply they name their diseases, compared with the rich, and endure them. From such "doth nature dayly draw and affoord us effects of constancy and *patterns of patience*." To this condition, then, if we may use Montaigne as a gloss, the terrying God-King of the first act has been brought: He will be as patient as the very poor; more than that, he will be the idea or pattern of all patience. The rest follows naturally (though Montaigne's Pyrrhonism may yet whisper doubt about it in some ears) that the ultimate "judgement" of the play concerns the salvation of the soul. Leir loses a kingdom and regains it. Lear loses everything, and gains "nothing." But the "nothing" which he gains is greater than "Th' whole summe of th' whole summe" of things.

Many subordinate "judgements" are used to bring about this result, and since there is probably not one of them but was the common property of Renaissance thinkers, nobody will wish to credit Montaigne with having suggested all of them to Shakspeare. And yet, Shakspeare was a busy man. When he found a great theme, and elsewhere a great and pertinent commentary upon such a theme, I fancy that he did not waste time seeking birds in the bush. *The Book*

of the *Courtier* was such a commentary upon the theme of a developing prince Hamlet, and I believe that he fused the saga story and Castiglione. The *Apologie* fitted the Lear story as perfectly. In it Montaigne had concentrated the wisdom of the classical and Renaissance world. So he followed it, and we do; and not blindly.

As the God-King holds himself to be the lord of creation and claims the tribute of men, of the so-called lower animals, and of the forces of nature, to save his soul from the illusion in which it lives his authority must be completely denied in some important business. Then he must lose all his privileges. He must be made to "abjure all roofs" (as Shakspeare says): and be "stripped into his shirt" (as Montaigne put it): and the unfended forces of nature, offensive animals and what the play calls "The winds and persecutions of the sky" must tell him what he really is. The king must suffer like the poorest of his subjects. Montaigne's early contemporary, Lodovicus Vives, in his famous letter to Leo X, had put it perfectly:

"I wish all princes could pass some part of their lives in a private station, that they might know the wants of their subjects, and from suffering themselves, learn to pity those who suffer. But, educated amid regal pomp, they have little feeling for the calamities of others."⁷

And it is his phrase, rather than Montaigne's, that seems to be caught up in Lear's reflection upon his own experience during the night of storm on the heath:

. . . Take physic pomp:
 Expose thyself to feel that wretches feel,
 That thou mayst shake the superflux to them,
 And show the heavens more just (III, iv, 31—).

Montaigne has nothing in the *Apologie* that leads directly to this, apart from a phrase about our "superflous and artificiall" desires, and (by inference) the superfluity of our kitchens (165). But, having been put to nurse with a peasant woman when he was a baby, and so acquired the doctrine by direct experience, which seems to have been some part of his good father's plan, he confirms what Vives said, and leads it on to the next point where suffering together with

the poor leads to an exchange of values from the bottom up. Compare the wild imaginations of the privileged, he says, with the life of "a day-labouring swaine . . . who measureth all things onely by the present sense . . . who feeleth no disease but when he hath it" (190).

"How much more docile and tractable are simple and uncurious mindes found both towards the laws of religion and Politike decrees . . . man bare and naked, acknowledging his naturall weaknesse . . . disfurnished of all humane knowledge, and so much the more fitt to harbour divine understanding" (208).

Allow that the phrases about charity may have been suggested by Vives: It is passages like this last which (as I think) chiefly helped Shakspeare to develop his *donnees*. In both of these, man came near being bare and naked, but he was not quite stripped, and he did not either try to maintain the power of his microcosmos against nature, nor later "acknowledge his naturall weaknesse" in words to move the world. In the old play, *Leir* and his *Kent-and-Fool* combined, *Perillus*, are saved from murder in a wood by a burst of stage thunder and lightning—these effects being outside the text, though the word "crack" which Shakspeare took over (III, ii, 8) is used in another connection close by. Later they are robbed of their cloaks, and *Perillus* offers his doublet to buy back his master's garment. "Come, let us goe, and see what God will send; when all means fail, he is the surest friend," is *Leir's* comment. The King of *Paphlagonia*, in the other story, is found with his son, "both poorly arrayed, extreame weather beaten," in the midst of "so extreame and foule a storm, that never any winter . . . brought forth a fowler child." The king accounts for his condition, and might be with Sidney in *Penshurst* long gallery for all the effect the storm has upon his style. But, come to *Lear*, we are in another sphere. The natural storm we have seen arising from the two separate literary quarters now becomes also a storm of the mind. Thwarted by love and malice; compelled to abjure all roofs and persecuted by the winds and sky, the king is a focal point of it: "man bare and naked," or soon to be almost naked; "disfurnished of all humane knowledge" . . . "acknowledging his naturall weaknesse" in words suggesting "divine understanding"—

" . . . here I stand, your slave;
A poor, infirm, weak, and despis'd old man (III, ii, 19—).

But we must go farther even than this. For a second "judgement" demands that the God-King or over-weening man shall be shown his own true nature. Convinced that he is, as Hamlet says, "the paragon of animals," he must see himself, loveless and predatory, as "worse than brutish" (to use Gloucester's phrase, I, ii, 82): a creature impelled by cruelty, yet the most defenceless, the most vulnerable. Also he must suffer the actual physical insult of the animals. So Montaigne counsels. "We are excelled in comelinesse," he says, "by many living creatures" (180): and "we perceive by the greater part of their works what excellency beasts have over us" (146). Even omitting what "Democritus judged and proved, which is, that beasts have instructed us in most of our arts" (157), we have much to learn from them. "Can there be a more formall, and better ordered policie . . . than that of Bees?" The swallows also (it might almost be those temple-haunting martlets which build on every vantage point of Macbeth's castle)

"chuse from out a thousand places, that which is fittest for them, to build their nests and lodging" . . . houses of "such prety contexture and admirable framing." (145)

It would have been well if Lear had learned from them how to build against the weather—though neither essay nor play says so. The Fool's counsel comes from another quarter:

For you trow, nuncle,
The hedge-sparrow fed the cuckoo so long,
That it had it head bit off by it young. (I, iv, 285—)

And yet not so much from another quarter, as independently but from the same quarter as Montaigne. "Witnessse," he says, "the provision, we see the Ants and other silly creatures to make against the cold and barren seasons of the yeare" (148). Note man's defencelessness, and contrast it with the protection with which "Nature hath clad and mantled . . . all other creatures, some with shels, some with huskes, with rindes, with haire, with wooll" (147). It seems probable that it was such passages as these that prompted what the Fool goes on to say to Lear: "Canst

tell how the oyster makes his shell?" "No." "Nor I neither: but I can tell why a snail has a house" (III, iv, 25—). And again: "We'll set thee to school to an ant, to teach thee there's no labouring i' th' winter" (II, iv, 67—).

Next we learn from Montaigne that we are more brutish than the beasts; and the niceness of the proud human spirit is torn open to reveal a thousand vile and sub-animal conditions in us: we receive the insult of the animals:

"And what qualities of our corporall constitution . . . cannot fit and serve a thousand beasts? Such as most resemble men are the vilest and filthiest of all the rout: As for outward appearance and true shape of the visage, it is the Munkie or Ape: . . . as for inward and vitall parts, it is the Hog. Truly, when I consider man all naked (yea, be it in that sex, which seemeth to have and challenge the greatest share of eye-pleasing beautie) and view his defects, his naturall subjection, and manifold imperfections; I finde we have had much more reason to hide and cover our nakedness, than any creature else. We may be excused from borrowing those which nature had therein favored more than us, and under their spoiles of wooll, of haire, or feathers, and of silke to shroud us" (181).

Some of this must have been common talk. Man-the-brute is the necessary Renaissance complement to what-a-piece-of-work-is-a-man. The bestiaries or Heraldry may have suggested to Shakspeare something about the beastliness which is in human nature, if he needed more information than his eyes gave him. In particular, he may have learned from the very pertinent poem on the making of man, which with others concludes Book I of the *Arcadia* not many pages in advance of chapter 10 of Book II where he found Paphlagonia. There, among many other animals contributing, the lion gives heart, the sparrow "lust to playe," the dog flattery, the fox craft, the wolf secret cruelty, the cat melancholy. "Thus man was made; thus man their lord became." Also there are the suggestions made by the allowed *données*, which we must in no wise forget. In the old play, the times are "monstrous, vilde"; Gonorill is a "viperous woman, shame to all thy sexe"; she and Regan (in a passage about root, stock and branch which Shakspeare takes over in IV, ii, 32-36) are "inhumane beasts"; and Gonorill again a "fiend in likenesse of a humane creature." With the same heavy Renaissance accent, the bastard in the *Arcadia* is scored for his "poysonous hypocrisie, desperate fraud,

smooth malice, hidden ambition, and smiling envie," and the king speaks of himself as "so serpentine a companion as I am." But admitting all this, it must be admitted also that the *Apologie* has as much more; and it also has the gift to transform what elsewhere is mostly bad names into a "judgement." Man, Montaigne says, has no prerogative of warring, in which he takes such pride. The elephant, the boar, and the bull make preparations for battle comparable to his. The tiger and the lion hunt man as man hunts them. The cuttlefish is a fisherman (147). Add also the reference to Circe transforming men into beasts (183); to man's singular sottishness" (199); to those "mungrell and ambiguous shapes betweene a humane and a brutish nature" which the Voyagers have reported, and "nations" that "change themselves into woolves" (231), it seems that we are approaching Edgar's description of man, "hog in sloth, fox in stealth, wolf in greediness, dog in madness, lion in prey" (III, iv, 92-94), and are already close to Goneril's "wolfish visage" (I, iv, 330), "boarish fangs" (III, vii, 58), and "bemonstered feature" (IV, ii, 63). In addition to which, and at once less in the common idiom and more like Montaigne's own, there is Lear's commentary upon the same Edgar "brought near to beast," and "taught . . . to assume a semblance that very dogs disdained" (V, III, 188—):

"Why, thou wert better in thy grave than to answer with thy uncovered body this extremity of the skies. Is man no more than this? Consider him well. Thou owest the worm no silk, the beast no hide, the sheep no wool, the cat no perfume . . . Thou art the thing itself: unaccommodated man . . ." (III, iv, 95—).

It is here that the King tears off his own clothing, and, as Montaigne would have it, is "stripped into his shirt." The same Montaigne, personally the kindest of men, centuries in advance of his time in detesting all forms of cruelty, says that he would also make him "stoope and bite and snarle at the ground" (137) as we have shown. Shakspeare does not go quite so far: but surely Lear crying "sa, sa, sa, sa," and "exit running" is far enough. And before this was the insult of the dogs, which until Montaigne, more than the alienists, taught me to the contrary,⁸ I used to believe actual dogs, as actual as those that "disdain'd" Edgar, though not the ones Lear used to love, as he imagines:

. . . The little dogs and all,
Tray, Blanch, and Sweet-heart, see, they bark at me (III, vi, 65—).

In order that proud man may learn what these "judgements" would teach him he needs the help of the fool, or of "Folly," a guide unworldly, unaccommodating, and unbiased as "Reason" is often biased by the sense perceptions (they need rather to be called sense deceptions) upon which it is based. I do not think that this idea came to Shakspeare much by way of Montaigne. He had it from the beginning, and it became richer as the comedies gave way to the histories, and these to the later comedies and the tragedies. Also he did not get it from the old play or from Sidney. I think that Lear's Fool came by way of Erasmus; and by way of Will Sommers, Henry VIII's fool whom Erasmus saw, and More must have known: and by way of Armin who played the wise fool in Shakspeare's company, and wrote about Will Sommers with the fondness of one who would be willing to carry on that gentle tradition, were he only given the chance. Like enough, Armin sometime put a definite question to Shakspeare as to why he, the virtual creator of Feste and Touchstone, was being neglected in the new plays, *Hamlet*, *Othello*, and *Macbeth* (unless this last follows *Lear*, as some think). Nonetheless, it is well to remember that the fool was wholly separate from the other characters in the earlier plays. Prince Hal never lets the divine folly of Falstaff into his heart: court circles will get along without Feste or Touchstone once the reconciliations are over. But Lear's Fool is a part of him. In a sense he is the king's externalized conscience, and even when he withdraws physically from the stage he remains incorporated and made one with the master he has helped to transform. Montaigne offered help to Shakspeare to form this concept. Would you then have Lear, or as he puts it, "will you have a man healthy, will you have him regular, and in constant and safe condition? Overwhelme him in the darke pit of idlenesse, and dulnesse. We must be besotted ere we can become wise, and dazzled before we can be led." Here was a seventh sort to add to Armin's "Six Sortes of Sottes," the book in which the story of Will Sommers appears. Put it succinctly, if you would save King Lear bring him not only to companion but to be the Fool.

[*To be concluded*]

¹The *Essays of Michael Lord of Montaigne translated by John Florio* (1603): iii vols.: Everyman's Library, 1923.

²J. M. Robertson, *Montaigne and Shakespeare*, 2nd. ed., 1909.

³Elizabeth Robbins Hooker, *The Relation of Shakespeare to Montaigne*, P.M.L.A., N.S. vol. 10, 1902, pp. 312-366.

⁴George Coffin Taylor, *Shakespeare's Debt to Montaigne*.

⁵T. S. Eliot, *Selected Essays*.

⁶One must not forget the common fund of rich Elizabethan phrases from which both Shakspeare and Florio could borrow independently. Nor, where there is likelihood of dependence between the two, should it be overlooked that where the dates allowed it, Shakspeare may have been the lender. An illustration of this last is Florio's "seelie dew-bedabbled hare" for Montaigne's unadorned "lievre" in the essay *Of Cruelty* (Everyman's lib. ed., as always in my references, Vol. II-117). It can hardly deny a Stratford origin with "Poor Wat" in *Venus and Adonis*, "Then shalt thou see the dew-bedabbled wretch" etc. Nonetheless, it is patent that Shakspeare used the Essays as a lexicon and an encyclopaedia. And among the trivia of the *Apol.* to which he stooped must have been some, no one can say how many, of the following. For completeness I note a few instances which apply to other essays, or to other plays than *K. L.* A wren (175) who, though only disporting with a crocodile, may have helped give a local habitation and more precise name to Ovid's incestuous birds (167) and so suggested Lear's adulterous creature (IV vi 115); "a tiger, the fiercest and most inhumane beast of all" (176), which glosses "tigers, not daughters" (IV ii 40); the lovely, borrowed description of the halcyon's nesting (177) which may have suggested "halcyon beaks" (II ii 282); "hurly-burly" (178, 220) cf. *Macbeth* I i 3: "A gust of contrarie winds . . . Cast but a little dust in his eyes" (170), cf. "You are not worth the dust which the rude wind Blows in your face" (IV ii 30-); "a singular scottishness in man" (199), "gregious scottishness . . . of mans wit" (220), "a scottish arrogancie" (237), cf. "Then he called me sot" (IV ii 8); the long French extract, "la lumiere commune, l'oeil du monde," etc. (217), which, with or without o.p. "swear not by heaven"; "I swear by earth, the mother of us all," may have led to "by the sacred radiance of the sun" (I i 3); "this peece of work—" (229)—the world—cf. *Hamlet* II ii 323 "what a piece of work is man"; and "he that should fardle-up a bundle" (255) cf. *H.* III i 76, "who would fardels bear," the burden in both cases being mental; "Oh sencelesse man, who cannot possibly make a worme, and yet will make Gods by dozens" (237), cf. "I such a fellow saw; Which made me think a man a worm" (IV i 35-38): the speaker, Gloucester, goes on to make one of the half-dozen gods, or judgements of god, later discussed in our text: "To accomodate the motions which they see in man, the divers functions and faculties" (246), cf. "unaccomodated man" (III iv 110); "The Stoickes" (locate the soul) "within and about the heart" (253), cf. "Then let them anatomize Regan; see what breeds about her heart" (111 vi 80); "and there is no beast (but man) "to which one may more justly apply a blinding bord, to keep her sight in . . . and keep from straying" (272), cf. the stocking of Kent (II iv 7-); "It is a mortall hand, that presents it, and a mortall hand, that receives it" (277), cf. "O, let me kiss that hand", "Let me wipe it first; it smells of mortality" (IV vi 135); "enteressed in the matter" (281), cf. "interest'd" (I i 87), Shakspeare's unique use of the word; "a robe after the Persian fashion, long, damasked, and perfumed" (299), cf. Lear to the disguised Edgar, "I like not the fashion of your garments; you will say they are Persian attire" (III vi 81-); "play the willie fox" (302), cf. "Ingrateful fox" III vi 28; "entire and perfect" (307), cf. *Othello* V ii 145, "one entire and perfect chrysolite." Other essays may also have contributed to *K.L.*: e.g. "*Of Crueltie*" (Vol. II xi) "so marble-hearted and savage-minded men" (121), cf. "Ingratitude, thou marble-hearted fiend" (I iv 281); *that the Taste of Goods on Evils Doth Greatly Depend on the Opinion We Have of Them* (Vol. I x), "court holy-water," (285) cf. "court holy-water in a dry house" (III ii 10); *Of the Canniballes* (Vol. I xxx), The cannibals eat and kill their prisoners, "not, as some imagine, to nourishe themselves . . . as anciently the Scythians were wont to do" . . . "the barbarous horror of such an action" (223), cf. "The barbarous Scythian" etc. (I i 118).

"THE SAGITTARY: A NOTE ON *OTHELLO*".

By RODNEY M. BAINE

SINCE the "usual" view of the "Sagittary" or "Sagittar",¹ to which Othello carried Desdemona on their wedding night, is that it is to be regarded as an imaginary Venetian inn, the importance of supporting this view may perhaps be questioned. Nevertheless, its careful consideration is necessary, for there exists nowhere a careful exposition of the supporting evidence, whereas the standard Arden *Shakespeare*² has an entire page attempting to rehabilitate Knight's conjecture that the Sagittary is to be identified with the Venetian Arsenal; and there appeared in the *Modern Language Review* for January, 1932, a twelve-page article³ by Miss Violet M. Jeffery endeavouring to identify it with a Venetian street, the *Frezzaria*. This article is the more important because the author uses her conjecture in an attempt to prove that Shakspeare visited Venice and because her identification has been accepted as conclusive by the editor of the popular 'New Temple' *Shakespeare*.⁴

The passages directly concerned are the following: After Iago has raised Brabantio to search for his daughter, he leaves Roderigo with the direction:

" . . . That you shall surely find him, Lead to the Sagittary
the raised search; And there will I be with him."⁵

When, in the next scene, Cassio discovers Othello and Iago talking, he informs the Moor:

" . . . You have been hotly call'd for;
When, being not at your lodging to be found,
The senate hath sent about three several quests
To search you out.

Oth. 'Tis well I am found by you.

I will but spend a word here in the house,
And go with you.

Cas. Ancient, what makes he here?"⁶

Finally, when Othello is accused by Brabantio of using hellish practices to win his daughter, he asks that she herself be summoned to clear him:

Oth. Send for the lady to the Sagittary . . .

Duke. Fetch Desdemona hither.

Oth. Ancient, conduct them; you best know the place."⁷

No evidence of the contemporary view of the Sagittary exists; but it is significant that the early editors of Shakspeare considered annotation unnecessary and that Steevens, the first to gloss it, was concerned only with describing the sign.⁸ From as early as 1693 there exists proof that it was regarded as an inn, for in his *Short View of Tragedy*, Thomas Rymer acidly remarked, "This Senator's Daughter runs away to (a Carriers Inn) the *Sagittary*, with a Black-amoor";⁹ and in 1733 Theobald gave as his scene direction for Act I, scene ii: "*SCENE changes to another STREET, before the SAGITTARY.*"¹⁰

Ambiguity arose only when Charles Knight attempted to identify it with "the residence at the arsenal of the commanding officers of the navy and army of the republic". "The figure of an archer," he claimed, "with his drawn bow, over the gates, still indicates the place. Probably Shakespeare had looked upon that sculpture."¹¹ It would seem that Knight assumed that Othello must have taken Desdemona to his lodgings, which, he hazarded, would be at the largest military residential section in Venice, hence, at the Arsenal. The statue of an archer was all he could discover to support his conjecture, which was of course worthless in absence of definite proof that the Arsenal or some part thereof was known in Shakspeare's day as "the Sagittary". Singer¹² soon drew attention to the lines¹³ which invalidate Knight's original assumption; and later Rolfe enlarged upon Singer's objection and in an especial appendix challenged: "We cannot find any evidence that the Arsenal at Venice was ever called 'the Sagittary'".¹⁴ Hart, however, ignoring Rolfe's actual disproof, confused the issue with a pointless etymological demonstration.¹⁵ Finally, Miss Jeffery ably destroyed the only excuse for the hypothesis by proving that the figure of Mars as archer, upon which it ostensibly rested, had not even existed in Shakspeare's time.¹⁶

For Knight's disproved conjecture, however, Miss Jeffery substituted another based upon evidence almost as flimsy. She argues: "In Act I, scene i, 159, Iago bids Roderigo:

'Lead to the Sagittary the raised search,
And there will I be with him.'

The implication is undeniable that the scene, in which Roderigo leading the search party comes upon Iago and Othello, will be set in the 'Sagittary' itself.

"That scene takes place in the street outside the house to which Othello has taken Desdemona: for Othello, on receiving the urgent summons from the Senate, replies (Act I, sc. ii, 48):

* 'I will but spend a word here in the house,
And go with you.'

"The 'Sagittary', then, is a street in Venice . . ." But Iago's direction:

" . . . That you shall surely find him
Lead to the Sagittary the raised search . . ."

does not necessarily imply that the following scene will take place *in* the Sagittary; there is no *a priori* reason why it cannot take place *at* the Sagittary. Shakspeare is having Iago give a definite place direction; he would not have been so vague as to leave the impression that Brabantio was to raise an entire street.¹⁸ Miss Jeffery has not quoted the particular line which shows conclusively that Iago is giving a careful direction, "That you shall surely find him." "Surely" here obviously means "certainly"; "to the Sagittary" and "and there" also seem definite enough. The facts that the place-word "Sagittary" was without a compound-ing "street" or "lane" and that this type of name was especially popular for inns¹⁹ would have immediately suggested to an Elizabethan audience that Iago was referring to an inn.

During the next scene the audience would have had difficulty in identifying a "Sagittary" street. London street signs were rare; and when they did exist they were built into house fronts:²⁰ obviously such a sign would have been extremely difficult to represent on the rapidly shifting Elizabethan stage. But it would have been easy to hang out an inn sign from the balcony to indicate that the scene had shifted to the "Sagittary". Miss Jeffery may have been tempted to regard the Sagittary as a private home because

Othello speaks of "the house"; but a glance at Shakspeare's inn-scenes²¹ will show how commonly he used the word to designate an inn.

"When Othello," continues Miss Jeffery, "urges the Duke:

'Send for the lady to the Sagittary,'

and to Iago adds the command (Act I, sc. iii, 121):

'Ancient, conduct them:

You best know the place.'

he is bidding Iago conduct them to the particular house in the 'Sagittary' where Desdemona is to be found. They would all know the street, but Iago's mission is to lead them to the precise house which he alone knows."²²

But Miss Jeffery is building an imaginary house; none is mentioned in the text. There is only one place named, the Sagittary; and since "the place", as Miss Jeffery implies, cannot refer to a street, it must refer to an inn. It would have been impossible for Shakspeare to have been more definite.

Miss Jeffery then goes on to identify the Sagittary with a particular Venetian street, the *Frezzaria*; and since I strongly suspect that it was her acquaintance with this street that first suggested her hypothesis, it seems necessary to show that Shakspeare did not take the name for his inn from the *Frezzaria*.

"The 'Sagittary'," writes Miss Jeffery, "is one of the most characteristic *calli* of Venice. It is none other than the *Frezzaria*, a narrow dark street, which runs from the Salizada San Moise just off Piazza San Marco, takes a right-angle turn, and ends on the Ponte dei Barcoroli near Campo San Fantino. The *Frezzaria* was so called because the makers of arrows had their shops there . . . It must be clearly understood that the 'Sagittary' of *Othello* is in no way connected with the zodiacal constellation Sagittarius: nor with the Centaur, the Sagittary referred to in *Troilus and Cressida*. It is not the same word at all, but an entirely

new word, coined by Shakespeare; concocted, moreover, with a singular penetration into the formation of Venetian street names. *Sagittary* was formed by analogy with *Frezzaria*. The two words are identical in construction and meaning. In Shakespeare's time the word arrow could be expressed in two ways in Italian. One is *frezza* (the Venetian counterpart of the Italian *freccia*); the other is *sagitta* (the literary form of *saetta*). Add the suffix *aria* to the first, and *Frezzaria* results. Add the suffix *ary* to the second and *Sagittary* results. It is hardly necessary to point out that the suffix *ary* is the English equivalent of the Italian *aria* . . . The resultant form—*Sagittary*—is a perfect counterpart in construction and meaning of *Frezzaria*.²³

Now, it cannot be denied that Shakspeare coined a great many words; but this particular one had long been part and parcel of the English language and possessed primarily the meanings Miss Jeffery has already mentioned. Her *a priori* dictum that "It must be clearly understood" that Shakspeare was not employing one of these cannot be accepted when the *N.E.D.* gives no example of the use of "Sagittary" to mean "archer" until the middle of the nineteenth century. Shakspeare was not coining a word; he had used the very same one only about a year before in *Troilus and Cressida*,²⁴ where, as Miss Jeffery states, it denotes the centaur. It is certainly more than a coincidence that in *The Comedy of Errors*²⁵ he had actually used the Centaur as the sign of an imaginary Ephesian inn. As there was a court revival of this play on 28 December, 1604, the very year in which *Othello* was written and less than two months after its performance at court, it is not impossible that in his use of the word "Sagittary", he was merely giving a new name to a familiar stage property.

On the other hand, to bolster her conjecture, Miss Jeffery is eager to support the implications that in order to coin "Sagittary" from *Frezzaria* Shakspeare must not only have known both literary Italian and the Venetian dialect but that he must have visited Venice. But her evidence for the former is nowhere forthcoming; and half her evidence for the latter consists in his use of the word under discussion. Miss Jeffery

has avoided another issue. The actual reading of Q₁, supported in one instance by Q₂, is not "Sagittary", but "Sagittar", a form in Shakspeare's day both rare and obsolescent.²⁶ Now, a copyist's or printer's change from the unfamiliar to the popular form is probable; and since the Folio form had appeared in *Troilus and Cressida*, it is possible that Shakspeare used both forms in the same play. But had he coined a word strictly on the analogy of *Frezzaria*, the textually preferable form, "Sagittar" would never have appeared.

Shakspeare was not attempting, "contrary to his usual custom, . . . to paint in minute details"²⁷ local colour recognizable only to the philologically-minded Venetian travelers in his audience. The "Sagittar" is Shakspeare's name for an imaginary Venetian inn.

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¹To avoid raising the issue until the proper time, I shall postpone stating the reasons for my preference of the latter form.

²*Othello*, ed. H. C. Hart, 1917, pp. 16-17.

³V. M. Jeffery, "Shakespeare's Venice", *M.L.R.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 24-35.

⁴*Othello*, ed. M. R. Ridley, 1933, p. 155.

⁵*Othello*, I, i, 158-60.

⁶*Othello*, I, ii, 44-49.

⁷*Othello* I, iii, 115-121.

⁸*Plays of Shakspeare*, ed. George Steevens, 1778, Vol. X, p. 457. No annotation appeared in 1773.

⁹T. Rymer, *A Short View of Tragedy*, 1693, pp. 94-95. Rymer probably had in mind no particular inn; the carrier's inn was merely a common contemporary type.

¹⁰*Works of Shakspeare*, ed. L. Theobald, Vol. VII, p. 380.

¹¹*Pictorial Edition of Shakspeare*, ed. C. Knight, 1839-43, Vol. I, p. 264.

¹²*Dramatic Works of William Shakspeare*, ed. S. W. Singer, 1856, Vol. X, pp. 12-13.

¹³*Othello*, I, ii, 44-49, quoted above.

¹⁴*Othello*, ed. W. J. Rolfe, 1891, p. 210.

¹⁵*Othello*, ed. W. C. Hart, *loc. cit.*

¹⁶V. M. Jeffery, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

¹⁷V. M. Jeffery, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26.

¹⁸The *Frezzaria*, by the way, is a rather long one.

¹⁹Compare the famous Mermaid Tavern and Shakspeare's own "Centaur" in *Comedy of Errors* I, ii, 9 *et passim*.

²⁰Philip Norman, *London Signs and Inscriptions*, 1893, pp. 1-2 *et passim*.

²¹e.g., the Induction to *The Taming of the Shrew* and I and II *Henry IV*, *passim*.

²²V. M. Jeffery, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

²³V. M. Jeffery, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27.

²⁴*Troilus and Cressida*, V, v, 14-15.

²⁵*Comedy of Errors*, I, ii, 9 *et passim*.

²⁶According to the N.E.D. it was last used in its mythological significance by T. Carew in 1624.

²⁷V. M. Jeffery, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

STEVENSON AND SHAKSPERE

By E. P. VANDIVER, JR.

ONE of Stevenson's best-known passages is that in which he lists the writers whose styles he carefully imitated during his apprenticeship: Hazlitt, Lamb, Wordsworth, Sir Thomas Browne, Defoe, Hawthorne, Montaigne, Baudelaire, and Obermann.¹ Since Shakspeare's name is missing from this group, one might hastily assume that Stevenson was not greatly interested in him. But he was, as his frequent references to Shakspeare in his essays, letters, poems, and travel-books indicate. He definitely states his love for Shakspeare and the belief that he is a good reader of Shakspeare's works.² His most interesting account of the writers that he especially enjoys reveals that he is fond of re-reading three of Scott's novels, one of Dumas, Meredith's *The Egoist*, Montaigne's essays, and the works of Moliere and Shakspeare.³ He pays a great tribute to the constant attraction that Shakspeare has always had for him, though candidly admitting that he has never read—that is, in their entirety—and never will read, *Richard III*, *Henry VI*, *Titus Andronicus*, and *All's Well that Ends Well*. All of the above frank confessions are made in the delightful book *Memories and Portraits*.

Stevenson's first travel-book, *An Inland Voyage*, contains a reference to the song "Come away, Death" (in *Twelfth Night*).⁴ His account of how he spoke of his recent mishaps to a group of young ladies is humorously compared to Othello's recital of his hardships to Desdemona.⁵ To emphasize the ideal of aiming high even if one is obliged to be satisfied with attaining a goal not as lofty as the one originally aimed at, Stevenson remarks that Endymion is better for having visions of the moon even if he later marries Audrey.⁶

Virginibus Puerisque opens with the arresting idea that Shakspeare's men are the kind that marry; that even Mercutio would have married if he had lived longer, since he was like Biron and Benedick; and that Iago also was mar-

ried.⁷ Stevenson then points out that in George Sand's French version of *As You Like It* Jaques marries Celia. Falstaff is the one important exception. Farther on, Stevenson, in commenting on the fact that some people do not fall in love, refers to the difficulty Shakspeare experienced when Queen Elizabeth desired him to write a play dealing with Falstaff in love.⁸ Stevenson's own fondness for Falstaff—and he often refers to the old playboy—is indicated when he says that though the fat knight lacked both sobriety and honesty, the world could better bear the loss of a gloomy Barabbas than that of Falstaff (a statement reminding one of Prince Hal's utterance, when he saw Falstaff feigning death, that he could have better spared a better man).⁹

In this same book Stevenson criticizes those who give lip-service to Shakspeare because it is the thing to do but who really do not enjoy him because they cannot appreciate him.¹⁰ In praising the beauty of the relationship of a happy couple, he points out that the message of a caress is more effective and more eloquent than any written message, even if Shakspeare were the writer.¹¹ In "An Apology for Idlers", supporting his thesis that we should not cause enmity or trouble by our unduly zealous efforts to shine in our industriousness and that, consequently, we should not consider ourselves of excessive importance to the world, he suggests that if Shakspeare had died as a young man, the world would have continued to progress about as usual.¹² In "Child's Play", however, Stevenson, with the Emersonian idea of compensation, remarks that as the child grows into a man the loss of playing soldier may be partly mitigated by the acquisition of the ability to appreciate Shakspeare.¹³ Four quotations from four different plays occur in this book.¹⁴

In *Familiar Studies of Men and Books* there are interesting comparisons of Shakspeare with other writers. Stevenson regards a scene of pathos in Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* as touching as anything in Shakspeare.¹⁵ He speaks disparagingly of Thoreau's abstinence from coffee, remarking that Shakspeare, after drinking a quantity of ale, could write better verses about the sunrise than could Thoreau with his coffeeless sobriety.¹⁶ In answer to critics who

object to Whitman as a bad influence, he merely says that he thinks Whitman no more dangerous than Shakspeare.¹⁷

Shakspeare's error in giving Bohemia a seacoast does not lessen the artistic worth of *The Winter's Tale*;¹⁸ Thoreau would have been more influential if he had possessed Falstaff's persuasive tongue;¹⁹ the youthful Charles of Orleans was in a situation similar to that of Hamlet²⁰—these are interesting thoughts. But even more interesting is the comment on Samuel Pepys' opinion of Shakspeare. Stevenson admits that Pepys probably underrated him as a dramatist but asserts that Pepys held his poetry in high esteem. Pepys, he continues, not only memorized the "To be or not to be" soliloquy but also set it to music.²¹

In *The Silverado Squatters* Stevenson refers to one of the Westerners, an egotistical and brutish fellow, as Caliban four times²² and as Caliban-Malvolio once.²³

In *Memories and Portraits* Stevenson criticizes Shakspeare for making the grave-digger in Hamlet lack a sense of feeling.²⁴ In "Talk and Talkers" he comments on the fact that in order to have good conversation a group must be composed of congenial persons: it would be interesting to have a conversation between Falstaff and Mercutio or between Falstaff and Sir Toby, but not between Falstaff and Cordelia.²⁵ There are interesting references to Malvolvio, "sick with self-love";²⁶ to Corin and Touchstone;²⁷ to Rosalind and Arden;²⁸ to Hamlet;²⁹ and to Pistol.³⁰ In "The Character of Dogs" is an account of a dog who suddenly lost his chivalrous attitude towards women; if the dog had been Shakspeare, according to Stevenson, he would have written *Troilus and Cressida* as a diatribe against the sex against whom he had turned.³¹ In "Talk and Talkers" there is an interesting anecdote about an old gentleman who was very fond of reading and quoting Shakspeare but who confessed that he had never been able to read all of *Othello* because the story was too painful for him.³²

In defending his own practice of imitating the styles of

other writers, Stevenson refers to several distinguished writers including Shakspeare, who, he says, were the product of a school of writers.³³ In discussing Dumas, he asserts that he does not love any of Shakspeare's characters as completely as he does d'Artagnan;³⁴ and in "A Gossip on Romance" he states that most readers love *The Arabian Nights* more than they do Shakspeare.³⁵ In this last essay appears the well-known praisee of Meredith's portrayal of the final scene between Lucy and Richard Feverel as something unexcelled in English literature since Shakspeare.³⁶

In *Across the Plains* Stevenson again turns to *Henry IV* for characters to illustrate his statements. The first negro waiter whom he encountered in America acted towards him as Prince Hal did towards Poins and Falstaff; thus Stevenson vividly suggests the independence and self-assurance of a certain type of negro.³⁷ In another place he compares the rough and bumpy face of the French Commissary to that of Bardolph.³⁸ In "A Chapter on Dreams" he tells a story about a young writer who is visited at night by little creatures who bring him ideas for his stories and whose work he interrupts during the night with excited comments in the same manner that Claudius interrupts the play in *Hamlet*.³⁹ During his long trip across the plains on an American train Stevenson was nicknamed Shakspeare by his fellow travellers.⁴⁰

One of the most interesting and amusing of Stevenson's anecdotes—in the essay "Beggars"—is that concerning a boy who lay on a hospital cot next to the bed of a friend of Stevenson. The boy ordered that a copy of Shakspeare be brought to him and took great delight in reading the book, much to the amazement of Stevenson's friend, who discovered that the boy understood very little of what he read and took most delight in the passages he least understood—the utterances of the ghost. Apparently the boy was enchanted with the sound and fury of the words even if they signified nothing to him. And in this connection Stevenson says that he himself would like, if he had an opportunity, to question Shakspeare as to the meaning of one or two things he has written. He also states that if he could go

back to the Elizabethan Age he would certainly visit Blackfriars to see Shakspeare play the part of the ghost in *Hamlet*, thinking what a shock it would be to Burbage to learn that the center of attraction was not he but the ghost.

In discussing the state of the common people on one of the Gilbert Islands (*In the South Seas*), Stevenson, reflecting on the remark of the king that the commoners were not paid for their work since they were all brothers together, is reminded of the fact that there was formerly a brother in Arden.⁴² "Some Gentlemen in Fiction", after a reference to Nym, Pistol, Caius, and Evans, contains a criticism of Hamlet.⁴³ Hamlet's thoughts are admirable, but Stevenson is displeased by the reference to his obesity. Hamlet is essentially a gentlemen, this aspect of him being emphasized by Salvini. The only exception to the splendid deportment of Hamlet as the ideal gentleman occurs in the scene with his mother. Here, Stevenson thinks, Shakspeare failed in his delineation of Hamlet's character since his conduct in this scene is too crude. In "On Some Technical Elements of Style in Literature" are references to Rumour's Prologue to 2 *Henry IV*, Falstaff's praise of Sherris, the prose of Rosalind and Orlando, and Othello's farewell to war.⁴⁴ In "Salvini's *Macbeth*" Stevenson pays a high tribute to Salvini's interpretation of this role.⁴⁵

Stevenson's *Letters* also contain several statements concerning Shakspeare. In one place he stresses the idea that when a person is in trouble or suffering, he turns to stories, not philosophy. Instead of reading Shakspeare, George Eliot, or Balzac, he turns to Charles Reade, Dumas, *The Arabian Nights*, or especially Scott.⁴⁶ *Richard II* is referred to as a fine but "ranting" production;⁴⁷ *Richard III* as a melodrama written by a man who did not then know the world.⁴⁸ With the part of Duke Orsino, in *Twelfth Night*, which role Stevenson was to play in an amateur performance, he declares that he is delighted.⁴⁹ Writing to his friend W. E. Henley (in May, 1884), he confesses that his view of life is "essentially the comic; and the romantic comic". *As You Like It* he considers the "most bird-haunted spot in letters". After this play he places *The Tempest* and

Twelfth Night. Referring to these three plays he says they signify what he means by "poetry and nature".⁵⁰

Stevenson's poetry also contains some Shaksperian allusions. He refers to Jaques in "A Valentine's Song"⁵¹ and concludes "The Cruel Mistress" with the thought that it is better to be Falstaff than Obermann.⁵² In the short poem "After Reading *Antony and Cleopatra*" he pays a tribute to Shakspeare's depiction of the charm of Cleopatra by voicing the thought that after reading the play he would prefer, like Antony, to die embraced by Cleopatra than remain alive without her love.⁵³

In "Books Which Have Influenced Me" Stevenson regards Shakspeare as the greatest influence on him. In addition to Kent's speech while Lear is dying, which profoundly impressed him, he pays especial tribute to the good influence exerted on him by Hamlet and Rosalind.⁵⁴

It is thus evident that Stevenson praised Shakspeare highly and, according to his own words, was influenced by him beneficially more than by any other writer. In his essays, travel books, letters, and poems he is fond of referring to Shakspeare's plays and characters, either for illustration or to comment upon them. He mentions at least thirty-six different Shaksperian characters. Of these, seven—Rosalind, Orlando, Touchstone, Jaques, Celia, Corin, and Audrey—are in *As You Like It*. Six belong to the Falstaff group: Falstaff, Hal, Pistol, Poins, Nym, and Bardolph. Falstaff seems to be his favorite character for citation when a comparison is desired. Hamlet also is the subject for several short discussions. The characters of *As You Like It*, the Falstaff group, and Hamlet seem to occupy Stevenson's mind especially. That he should be interested in the first two groups is only natural, considering his love of romance and high spirits. And the fact that he was interested in Hamlet requires no explanation.

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¹*The Works of Robert Louis Stevenson*, Tusitala ed. (London: William Heinemann, 1923) XXIX, 28.

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|------------------------------|--------------------|
| 2XXIX, 55. | 28XXIX, 113. |
| 3XXIX, 110. | 29XXIX, 124. |
| 4XVII, 51. | 30XXIX, 78. |
| 5XVII, 57. | 31XXIX, 98. |
| 6XVII, 104. | 32XXIX, 87-89. |
| 7XXV, 1. | 33XXIX, 30. |
| 8XXV, 23. | 34XXIX, 117. |
| 9XXV, 37. | 35XXIX, 126. |
| 10XXV, 7. | 36XXIX, 126. |
| 11XXV, 37. | 37XVIII, 87. |
| 12XXV, 59. | 38XVII, 116. |
| 13XXV, 106. | 39XXX, 46. |
| 14XXV, 8, 21, 44, 58. | 40XVIII, 98. |
| 15XXVII, 13. | 41XXV, 167f. |
| 16XXVII, 82. | 42XX, 306. |
| 17XXVII, 79. | 43XXVI, 104-106. |
| 18XXVII, 17. | 44XXVIII, 39f. |
| 19XXVII, 105. | 45XXVIII, 147-152. |
| 20XXVII, 153ff. | 46XXXII, 104. |
| 21XXVII, 194. | 47XXXII, 187. |
| 22XVIII, 206, 209, 226, 243. | 48XXXIV, 50. |
| 23XXIII, 210. | 49XXXI, 224. |
| 24XXIX, 22. | 50XXXII, 308. |
| 25XXIX, 82. | 51XXIII, 122. |
| 26XXIX, 90. | 52XXIII, 241. |
| 27XXIX, 97. | 53XXIII, 102. |
| | 54XXVIII, 63. |

TIMON OF ATHENS, ACT V, SCENE 3

By PAUL H. KOCHER

THE almost universal opinion¹ of critics has long been that this brief ten-line scene was written not by Shakspeare but by some other author, probably Middleton or Chapman. In spite of the evil days on which the parallel passage method has fallen of late, it is worth while to call attention to certain rather striking parallels between this scene and other scenes in plays admittedly Shakspeare's; which warrant at least a re-examination of the whole problem.

The Timon scene reads as follows in the Globe edition²:

The woods. Timon's cave and a rude tomb seen. Enter a Soldier, seeking Timon.

Sold. By all description this should be the place.

Who's here? speak, ho! No answer! What is this?

Timon is dead, who hath outstretch'd his span:

Some beast rear'd this; there does not live a man.

Dead, sure; and this his grave. What's on this tomb?

I cannot read; the character I'll take with wax:

Our captain hath in every figure skill,

An aged interpreter, though young in days:

Before proud Athens he's set down by this,

Whose fall the mark of his ambition is.

To line 2 there is a suggestive parallel in the words of Imogen in *Cymbeline* as she stumbles on the cave of Belarius during her wanderings in the woods:

. . . But *what is this?*

Here is a path to't: 'tis some savage hold:

I were best not call; I dare not call: yet famine,

Ere clean it o'erthrow nature, makes it valiant.

Plenty and peace breeds cowards; hardness ever

Of hardness is mother. *Ho! who's here?*

If any thing that's civil, *speak; if savage,*

Take or lend. *Ho! No answer?* then I'll enter. (III, 6, 17-24).

It will be observed that the italicized words together exactly comprise line two of the Timon scene and that the two situations are closely similar: a person coming upon a cave in the woods hallooos to attract the attention of its inhabitant, but without success. The difference between the

passages is only that Imogen is more garrulous in her self-communing than is the Soldier. The resemblance noted seems too close to be the result of pure chance; and on the other hand, it is hardly likely to be the result of borrowing from Shakspeare by another author, or vice versa, since the words spoken are in no way memorable. Rather, the probable explanation is that Shakspeare, writing of two similar circumstances in plays not far separated in time, naturally fell into the same pattern of language for both.⁸

The parallel just cited is buttressed by another between line 1 of the *Timon* scene and *Cymbeline* IV, 1, 27-28. When Cloten is seeking Imogen and Posthumus in the woods near the cave of Belarius, he says, in the course of a soliloquy: "This is the very description of their meeting-place; . . ." Again the woods and the situations are much the same.

Other Shaksperian parallels that carry weight are those to line 9 of the *Timon* scene, specifically to the use of the verb "set down" in the sense of getting into position for a siege. In this intransitive form the expression occurs at least five times in Shakspeare:

- Sen.* Let us alone to guard Corioli:
If they set down before's, for the remove
Bring up your army. (*Coriolanus* 1, 2, 27-29).
- Val.* . . . your lord and Titus Lartius are set down before their
city Corioli . . . (*Coriolanus* 1, 3, 109-10).
- Hel.* . . . our virginity, though valiant, in the defence yet is
weak; unfold to us some warlike resistance.
- Par.* There is none: man setting down before you will undermine you
and blow you up. (*All's Well* I, 1, 127-31).
- Ant.* Caesar sets down in Alexandria, where I will oppose his fate.
(*Ant. & Cl.* III, 13, 168-69).
- Siw.* We learn no other but the confident tyrant
Keeps still in Dunsinane, and will endure
Our setting down before't. (*Macb.* V, 4, 8-10).

Shakspeare also employs the verb transitively in *Coriolanus*, V, 3, 1-2:

We will before the walls of Rome tomorrow
Set down our host.

The *N.E.D.* describes both uses of the word as obsolete and

takes three of its six illustrations from among the six listed above. None of the other three is taken from any Elizabethan dramatist. In Crawford's concordances to Kyd and Marlowe, moreover, there is no record of employment of the word under discussion. I can also state with considerable assurance that it does not occur in any of the dramas of Lyly, Peele, or Greene, and I may add that, although I have kept watch for it in my reading during several years past, I have not met with it at all in the contemporary Elizabethan drama. This word, then, seems to be a decidedly uncommon one with the playwrights of the period.

More particularly, Middleton, the dramatist most commonly mentioned as author of the *Timon* scene, does not use either 'set down' or 'sit down' in this military sense, so far as I am able to ascertain. During a careful reading of most of Middleton's plays⁵ I have not found a single example. Nor does Chapman make use of either in the five of his best-known plays⁶ which I have been able to examine. By contrast, Shakspeare's six adoptions of the infrequently used word 'set down' are conspicuous.

The remaining Shaksperian parallels to the *Timon* scene are not individually strong but I cite them as cumulative evidence. To line 3:

Cel. Some, how brief the life of man
Runs his erring pilgrimage,
That the stretching of a span
Buckles in his sum of age:

(*As You Like It*, III, 2, 137-40).

Iago. A soldier's a man;
A life's but a span.

(*Othello*, II, 3, 73-74).

The misanthropic idea that men are beasts, expressed in line 4, is current during the period, but we should at least note that Shakspeare frequently utters it:

Since men prove beasts, let beasts bear gentle minds

(*Lucrece*, 1148).

Duke S. I think he be transform'd into a beast,
For I can nowhere find him like a man.

(*As You Like It* II, 7, 1-2).

K. Rich. A king of beasts, indeed; if aught but beasts,
I had been still a happy king of men. (*Rich.* 2, V, 1, 35-36).

Similarly, line 8 of the *Timon* scene has numberless general analogues in Shakspeare, as in other Elizabethan writers⁷. I quote two:

Young in limbs, in judgment old (*Merchant*, II, 7, 71).

His years but young, but his experience old,

His head unmellow'd, but his judgment ripe:

(*Two Gentlemen*, II, 4, 69-70).

The parallels given above even when taken all together are, of course, far from establishing Shakspeare's authorship of *Timon*, Act V, Scene 3, but they have an evidential value which may well justify a reopening of the question.

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¹Among those who deny Shakspeare's authorship are H. N. Hudson (ed. *Works*, 1851, V. 10), Wm. G. Clark & Wm. Aldis Wright (ed. *Works*, 1865, VII, 315), F. G. Fleay ('Shakspeare's Share in *Timon of Athens*', *Trans. New Shak. Soc'y*, 1874, pp. 130-195), C. H. Herford (ed. *Works*, 1902, X, 150), K. Deighton (ed. *Timon of Athens*, 1905, p. 143), I. Gollancz (ed. *Works*, 1907, IX, Preface), E. H. Wright (*The Authorship of Timon of Athens*, 1910, pp. 54-6), J. M. Robertson (*Shakspeare and Chapman*, 1917, p. 140), H. D. Sykes ('The problem of *Timon of Athens*', *N. & Q.*, Aug. 11 & Sept. 15, 1923), and T. M. Parrott (*The Problem of Timon of Athens*, 1923, p. 19). But see, *contra*, E. K. Chambers (*William Shakspeare*, 1930, I, 480-84) and Wm. Wells (*N. & Q.*, June 5, 1920, pp. 266-9).

²Quotations and line numberings hereafter are from the Globe edition.

³I must point out the existence of what might be called a semi-parallel in Middleton's *Blurt, Master-Constable*, I, 2, 40-50: "What, ho! Nobody speaks? Where dwells the constable?" These lines, however, do not destroy the force of the Shaksperian parallel quoted above. The strength of the latter resides in the identity of situation and the recurrence of *all* of the *Timon* words in *Cymbeline*. In Middleton the situation is quite different and only one or two of the *Timon* words appear.

⁴In this quotation and in the next I am following the reading of the First Folio, which has "setting down" and "sets down" respectively. Some editors, including the Globe editors, change to "sitting down" and "sits down", without apparent justification. Other editors, among whom are Brigstocke for *All's Well* (Arden) and Furness for *Antony and Cleopatra* (Variorum), properly retain the Folio version. "Sit down," meaning to encamp with an army, appears in the Folio only in *Coriolanus* (IV, 7, 28). As the N.E.D. shows, the two words were virtually synonymous in meaning but distinct in form.

⁵I have checked the following eighteen plays in Bullen's edition: *The Old Law*, *Michaelmas Term*, *Mayor of Queenborough*, *A Trick to Catch the Old One*, *Roaring Girl*, *The Phoenix*, *Blurt, Master-Constable*, *A Fair Quarrel*, *The Widow*, *No Wit, no Help like a Woman's*, *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*, *Anything for a Quiet Life*, *The Witch*, *The Changeling*, *The Spanish Gypsy*, *Women Beware Women*, *More Dissemblers Besides Women*, *A Game at Chess*.

⁶*Conspiracy of Byron*, *Tragedy of Byron*, *Bussy D'Ambois*, *Revenge of Bussy*, *All Fools*.

⁷Cf. Middleton's "A prince elder in virtues than in years" and "His judgment is a father to his youth" (*Phoenix*, I, 1, 17-18).

WHEN ELIZABETHANS LAUGHED

By WM. VAN O'CONNOR

SHAKSPERE learned early in his career that Comedy and Tragedy are akin, that Comedy is man's relief valve against Tragedy. Hysteria and laughter differed only in the degree of their intensity; thus Hamlet called to the ghost of his father,

Ah, ha, boy! say'st thou so, art thou there, truepenny?—
Come on,—you hear this fellow in the cellarage—
Consent to swear.

The cry could not have been incongruous to Hamlet. Shakspeare meant that Hamlet, like other men, was prone to terror while in contact with the nether world, that Hamlet chose to laugh at his fear to save himself the tense nervous reaction that follows fright. There seems little else to be said in regard to this scene, despite the many theories it has given rise to.

Shakspeare knew that the fright caused by Tragedy is not lasting, and that its passing leaves us neither with a sense of exultation nor in a mood of peace and quiet. Man accepted it stoically since it was a part of Life's core, essential in the Scheme. Perhaps man once feared Tragedy greatly, as primitive man fears thunder, but aeons of watching it strike had erased the terror in some degree. It was true that moments of intense excitement were experienced when Tragedy was stretching forth her hand, the *moments* that vitalized drama; but we settled back after the blow and asked with a semi-defiant smile, "Well, is that all?" The fear was transient. If Shakspeare did not know this before going up to London, he knew it by 1595. He was hurt and bewildered when his love for the "dark lady" went unrequited, and especially when she dropped him completely for a new love. He then addressed his "Poor soul, the center of my sinful earth:"

And let that pine to aggravate thy store;
Buy terms divine in selling hours of dross;
Within be fed, without be rich no more:

So shalt thou feed on Death, that feeds on man,
And, Death, once dead, there's no more dying then. (Son. 146.)

Shakspere soon was aware that men had an important weapon to be used against Tragedy: the weapon of retreat into laughter. In using this weapon Shakspere's pessimism rose out of darkness into a refulgent light; man *could* combat Tragedy.

Tragedy had two agents: chance and society. The second was the more awful, for it was man's weakness betraying man. The Greeks, he knew from his school days, had employed the former type in their drama. The gods singled out those who would die out of their beds, with blood spurt-ing from their chests, those who would die horribly, victims of the gods, victims of chance. Chance could be defied only with courageous, though ineffective laughter. Society, however, was man's own doing. Society grew more and more intricate, rules and laws piled up endlessly, and man eventually became entangled in the spidery web of his own making. Take the tragic end of Falstaff, and his end *was* tragic. Falstaff knew how to slip out of the harness of laws, in retreat he was marvelous. His weakness lay in knowing nothing of truce making, in knowing nothing of compromise. The Tragedy that arose out of society could be coped with by judiciously using humor and by compromise.

The humor found in ridicule and satire Shakspere left mostly to Jonson and Marston. He was not averse to using a gentle satire, as he did in *Love's Labour's Lost*, pointing out that men should not oppose the natural order of mating. But he felt, it seems, that satire, like destructive criticism, is of small efficacy in changing man. Jonson felt that the humor in Shakspere's soul flowed forth too freely: "His wit was in his own power; would that the rule of it had been so too! Many times he fell into those things; could not escape laughter, as when he said in the person of Caesar, one speaking to him, 'Caesar, thou dost me wrong.' He replied, 'Caesar did never wrong but with just cause,' and

such like, which were ridiculous."¹ Each man had a different concept of the essence of humor.

Jonson believed that humor caused by the recognition of things we have long known or conceived of as possible was the essential part of humor. There is ample evidence in his plays that this was his belief. The attraction of a pretty blonde head in our society would be ridiculed by a modern Jonson, and probably with some bitterness. Shakespeare had little time for such pettiness. He concentrated on the laughter of escape from reality. In our day escapist theories run through hundreds of volumes, and we talk of it as though it were a recent discovery.

Some scholars (Dover Wilson among them) have said that though the miracle plays of our forefathers contained coarse humor, we look to the morality plays to find comedy that is distinct from buffoonery. In the morality plays characteristics of man are personified, and put on the stage. Foibles afford a ready abstraction; one's proclivities toward foppishness, for example, as in Sir Foppling Flutter. On the whole these characters are quite unsatisfactory. Yet in the midst of the morality play characters we find Everyman, one with a distinctive personality. He has the chameleon moods of a Cleopatra; more than an abstraction, he is shrewd, he has strength and weakness. His human, many-faceted personality has a strong appeal for us. He is not a puppet moved by the dramatist; his personality moves the theme. Falstaff, too, was more than an abstraction.

Falstaff spent his life running away from reality, matching his wits against society. Hal, with the strict background of the court ever hanging over him, his rule guided life as king ahead of him, appreciated Falstaff's ability and genius for thumbing his nose at the world, and the ease with which he escaped the effects of breaking imposed laws. When we follow Falstaff on the stage, however, we are not following an abstraction of man's desire to thumb his nose at the world, we are following a human being who is attempting it. We are ever conscious that eventually he must come to grips with society, and that unless the gods inter-

vene he will be beaten. Like Everyman, he has to choose his way of life. His glib, facile tongue will carry him how far? Hal compromises, then gives in to society, settles into the mould made for him. We lose sympathy with Hal, and continue our pursuit of Falstaff into the values of unreality. We enjoy his strange "reasoning," word tossing, wondering how long he can sustain it. We enjoy it the more because he is using formal "logic," making gloriously fustian speeches, using the very tool that society was wielding against him, and—bless him! ignoring the cold spirit of it. Jonson would, and perhaps did, call Falstaff's "reasoning" ridiculous. It was, but we will always laugh when the seams of reality are turned inside out.

Shakspere, in part, was Falstaff. He was tired of the rules that bound his life. E. A. Robinson had Ben compromise his opinion of Shakspere, as we know it, and say:

I tell him he needs Greek;
I'll talk of rules and Aristotle with him,
And if his tongue's at home he'll say to that,
"I have your word that Aristotle knows,
And you mine that I don't know Aristotle."
He's at odds with all the unities,
And what's yet worse, it doesn't seem to matter;
He treads along through Time's old wilderness
As if the tramp of all the centuries
Had left no roads—and there are none, for him;
He doesn't see them, even with those eyes—
And that's the pity, or I say it is.

Falstaff too, had refused to walk old roads in the hot sun, though in the long run the old roads would have been the easiest. Did this conflict in Shakspere, the pull between the dreamer and the man of action, reach its burning culmination in *Hamlet*?

Shakspere knew that society must inevitably win. Thus he chose to own a house in Stratford, and to boast a coat-of-arms. We watch Falstaff lose. He dies broken-hearted and despised. Hal left him, and their common world of let's-pretend to take up the business of a king. Ben Jonson disliked the same society, but he chose to fight against it,

and not to escape it. Angry and puzzled, despite his arbitrary manner, Ben took his pen and bitterly exposed the weaknesses of his fellows, often going to excess. When the satire was not carried too far, the audience laughed with him, and at themselves, but they remained unchanged. Shakspeare saw the same London, looked back at the world and saw that satire had usually failed. He appealed to his audience in another way, by leading them into the Mind's Wonderland; and in doing so he reached their hearts. Carlyle saw that Shakspeare was the true voice of the inarticulate English heart: "And yet they did produce one Shakspeare: consider how the element of Shaksperian melody doth lie imprisoned in their nature; reduced to unfold itself in mere cotton mills, Constitutional Governments, and such like—all the more interesting when it does become visible, as even in such unexpected shapes it succeeds in doing."² The gentler observer seems to have understood his audience well. He helped them escape from their London, and with him they laughed gloriously, with the laughter of the free.

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¹Timber, Or Discoveries, i "De Shakspeare nostra"

²*Past and Present*, "The English."

"THE FOURTH FORGER": A SUPPLEMENTAL MINORITY REPORT

By WILLIAM T. HASTINGS

ON John Mair's lively account of the Ireland forgeries¹ I have made an adverse report in rather general terms,² and would be content to let the matter rest. The highly complimentary notices in the *London Times*, the *New York Times*, and the *New York Herald-Tribune*³ suggest, however, that the book's defects are not immediately obvious and that it will be helpful to the student to specify some of them. I shall note briefly certain obvious errors and omissions. The absence of all scholarly *apparatus* makes it impossible to tell whether or not Mair's disagreements with previous writers as to facts are based on new evidence; and some of these disagreements I shall also record.

1. "The Fourth Forger." In the Rev. William Mason's scurrilous verses this phrase was applied to Samuel Ireland, not to William Henry, the subject of this book.

2. ". . . except a brief, superficial . . . essay . . . no detailed account . . . has ever been written" (p. xiii). It was hardly necessary to allude to this honors thesis by a Harvard undergraduate;⁴ but the essays by Richard Grant White⁵ and Philip W. Sergeant⁶ should have been mentioned. Mair seems to have used both; see below.

3. "Samuel Ireland began life obscurely," etc. (p. 1). This material is drawn, not very exactly, from *DNB*. More and more exact details are given by G. H. Libbis,⁷ who had MS journals of Samuel Ireland and his uncle.

4. "In 1789" (p. 3). *DNB* says 1790.

5. "In 1787 . . . Walpole . . . had produced . . ." (p. 3). *DNB* says "was preparing."

6. "His wife had died [vague as to date] . . . looked after by his housekeeper, Mrs. Freeman . . . Mrs. Ireland [wrote] a rhyming attack on Dr. Cadogan" (p. 5). Libbis⁸ describes Mrs. Freeman as Ireland's mistress, the children as hers, and makes her the author of the attack on Cadogan. A passage in the *Farington Diary*,⁹ confirms this view of her

position, as against Mair's vague statement that there is no evidence of William's illegitimacy (p. 7).

7. "About this time . . . remained for four years on the Continent" (p. 9). He left England in May, 1789, and returned in 1792. Mair is following Ireland's *Confessions* (1805) in saying "four years"; in the *Authentic Account* (1796) Ireland gives three years as the period of his life abroad.

8. "In the spring of 1793 . . ." (p. 13). The date of the famous trip to Stratford is elsewhere given as 1794: "in 1794";¹⁰ "about 1794 . . . Returning to London in the autumn of 1794";¹¹ "October 1794."¹²

9. The conversation about the burned papers (pp. 18-19) is copied, not accurately, from the *Confessions*. The earlier version, in the *Authentic Account*, is probably more "authentic." In any case Williams's wife, described by Ireland as "a very respectable elderly lady," need not have been accused of eavesdropping.

Mair says on p. 18 that Williams owned Clopton House (the word in the *Confessions* is "occupied"); but on p. 19 he refers to Mr. Wyatt as Williams's landlord.

10. "Dr. Warton said" (p. 35). This does not follow in phrasing any one of the three versions reported by the Irelands. Mair does not enumerate the amusing and inconsistent disclaimers of Warton and Parr.

11. "Blackfriar's property which the poet bought in 1612" (p. 52). Mr. Mair has been trapped by an "old style" date. The deed was executed on March 10, 1613.¹³

12. "Shakespeare's Library" (p. 54). More exact information was available to Mr. Mair, in the researches of Dr. Tannenbaum.¹⁴

13. In the chapter "Public Opinion" (pp. 56-68), few dates are given and the details are set down in anything but a chronological order. The result is therefore confusing.

14. "There had even been Shakespearian fabrications earlier in the century . . . Theobald's *Edward III*, and aptly entitled *Double Falsehood*, or Rowe's *Jane Shore*, which, though their claims were never taken very seriously, had caused a good deal of discussion at the time" (p. 73).

It is hardly necessary to remark that "Theobald's *Edward III*" does not exist and that *Jane Shore* was an avowed

imitation, not a forgery. The status of *Double Falsehood* is not yet determined, but there is some ground for the belief that it is a revision of an Elizabethan play; and Mr. Mair should know this.

15. The general line of reasoning in Chapter Six seems to have been suggested by Richard Grant White's essay, to which no reference is made.

16. "A bad actor and a worse writer, Waldron had ambitions . . ." (p. 146). Mair has here appropriated, somewhat inexactly, and used in an obscure way an angry phrase from Samuel Ireland's *Vindication* (p. 45): "One Waldron likewise [in addition to Malone] has waded into the controversy, a bad actor and a worse critic." (Waldron was prompter at the Haymarket Theatre and collected books on Shakspeare.)

17. "... the five hundred copies [of Malone's *Inquiry*] sold in the two days before the production of *Vortigern* must have carried more weight . . ." (p. 172).

Sergeant (p. 265), discussing the question of precedence as between the production of *Vortigern* and Malone's attack, concludes that though review copies of the pamphlet had been issued, it is doubtful if "any copies were in the hands of the public until after the performance."

18. Mair's conjecture (p. 195) that Albany Wallis connived in Ireland's forgeries was put forth in 1925 in much the same form, by Sergeant (p. 273).

19. "On June 4th [1796] . . . he was married . . ." (p. 208). June 6 is the date given by *DNB* and by Sergeant (p. 278). Libbis¹⁵ says the marriage was on July 4, "and not on June 6."

20. "Seen on Sundays in Kensington Gardens" (p. 208) Mrs. Freeman heard from Miss Earle that she had seen "Sam" [W.H.I.] in Kensington Gardens on one particular Sunday, June 26.¹⁶

21. The indication of dates in Chapter Fifteen is vague and somewhat inexact.¹⁷ In substance the chapter follows Sergeant closely, even paragraph by paragraph at times. Mair's chapter ends (p. 222): "'He said impudently: 'those are *bold* and *hard* words for any man to *dare* to say!' on which I observed I was not accustomed to such language and withdrew downstairs.' Mr. Ireland and his son never met again."

Sergeant had paraphrased Samuel's letter, which Mair quotes; but notice his conclusion (p. 283): "Indignantly Samuel said that he was not accustomed to such language, and hurried away downstairs. As far as we know, father and son never met again."

22. "In December he wrote . . ." (p. 224). Sergeant says the date was Nov. 1; *DNB* says "in November."

23. "In July 1800 Samuel died" (p. 226). Libbis says the date was June 14.¹⁸

24. "He died in Suffolk Place, London" (p. 230). *DNB*, Sergeant, and Libbis all give "Sussex Place, St. Giles in the Fields."

⁷Quoted in Francis Hackett: *Henry the Eighth*, 136—. Vives' equally famous letter of *Human Need*, or *The Relief of the Poor*, to the Senate of Bruges, 1526, is also opposite, especially to the next following quotation from *K.L.* in the text above, "shake the superfluous to them." In part, it reads: "certain surplus funds have been distributed by the state" (ch. 1). "Let the wealthy hospitals share their superfluous funds with the poorer. But if the poorer hospitals are not in need of help, then let the surplus be given to those who suffer in secret" . . . "Then in regard to the beggars who wander about with no fixed dwelling places . . . even those who have dissipated their fortunes in riotous living, by gambling, harlots, extravagance, and gluttony, must be relieved" (final chapter): *Studies in Social Work*, New York School of Philanthropy.

⁸"Those watching-Dogs, which in their sleep we sometimes see to grumble, and then barking to startle suddenly out of their slumber, as if they perceived some stranger to arrive: that stranger which their mind seemeth to see, is but an imaginarie man, and not perceived; without any dimension, colour, or being" (179). Shakspeare needed merely to invert this to get the stranger out of it, whose (deranged) mind saw but "imaginarie dogs."

¹*The Fourth Forger: William Ireland and the Shakespeare Papers*; London, 1938; New York, 1939.

²*Saturday Review of Lit.*, June 24, 1939.

³*T.L.S.*, Aug. 6, 1938; *N. Y. Times Book Review*, June 4, 1939; *Herald-Tribune Books*, July 2, 1939.

⁴Derk Bodde: *Shakspeare and the Ireland Forgeries*, 1930.

⁵Introduction to the American edition (1874) of Ireland's *Confessions*.

⁶"Young Ireland," in *Liars and Fakers* [1925], pp. 237-83, 306-08.

⁷*NQ*, 160: 201 ff.

⁸*Loc. cit.*

⁹*I.* 133.

¹⁰Chambers: *William Shakespeare*, II. 297.

¹¹*DNB*.

¹²Sergeant, 246.

¹³Chambers: *William Shakespeare*, II. 154.

¹⁴*Problems in Shakspeare's Penmanship*, 160.

¹⁵*NQ*, 160:221.

¹⁶Sergeant, 277.

¹⁷E.g. Mair writes: "In the same month [December, 1796] appeared *Mr. Ireland's Vindication . . .*" (p. 218). But according to *DNB* it appeared in November.

¹⁸*NQ*, 160:220.

EDITORIAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

By S. A. T.

MISTRESS OPHELIA

An anonymous writer in *Notes and Queries* wishes to know on what grounds some persons think that Ophelia had been Hamlet's mistress. He seems to be unaware of the fact, or is too delicate to mention it, that according to some of these diviners of Shakspeare's true intentions in this play Ophelia, trusting Ophelia, the helpless one, had even given birth to a child of Hamlet's begetting, and that this unlooked-for circumstance drove her to suicide by drowning. What *are* the bases for these theories?

In the first place, Laertes, at the beginning of the play, cautions his simple-minded sister to beware of the trifling of Hamlet's favor. The Paris-bred gentleman knows that a wooer's "songs," combined with the influence of moonlight walks (and the moon does shine in Denmark), may cause the chariest maid to "open her chaste treasure to his unmaster'd importunity." Her father, too, an experienced man of the world, realizing the perilousness of the situation, cautions her that her—and his—honor are in danger. Clearly, say the up-to-date interpreters of *Hamlet*, Shakspeare would not have dwelt at such length upon a matter which was to play no part in the subsequent conduct of the play. Hamlet is a man; Ophelia is a woman; both are young, sentimental, romantic—and spend much time in each other's company.

All this may be granted; men and women in real life undoubtedly often act this way, but *Hamlet* is not a portrait of real life,—it is a romantic tragedy stemming from the Renaissance. The "gentleman" of that day did not seduce his feminine idol.

Hamlet is the model Renaissance gentleman; he is "the glass of fashion and the mold of form" (*i.e.*, the pattern of what is proper). That the doddering, dishonorable Polonius and his more dishonorable and profligate son think Hamlet capable of betraying the simple-minded Ophelia is one of the tragic elements in this play. They speak for themselves, not for Shakspeare. Their foolish and wicked judgments are only a display of their base natures. But, for all that, it is certain that Laertes did not think his sister had been seduced by the malignant Prince. At her funeral he speaks of violets springing from her "unpolluted flesh."

Hamlet, engaged in conversation with Polonius, warns the foolishly cunning old man to keep his daughter out of the sun lest she may "conceive" in a way that will not prove to his liking. This is supposed to be Hamlet's confession that his relations with Ophelia had passed the bounds of propriety. Had this been so, we would have to think of Hamlet as a cad of the most contemptible breed,—obviously not the kind of man the artistic world of more than three centuries has found in Hamlet. Hitherto these speeches of his have been interpreted as indications that he is playing a role, confirming in Polonius the notion that he is insane, and that he suspects or knows why Polonius has ordered Ophelia to return his love-tokens and deny him access to her.

A further argument, an unanswerable one (say some), is to be found in the smutty songs with which Ophelia entertains the royal couple in her "mad scene," especially the very naughty one about what happened on Saint Valentine's day, and, even more

especially, the one about what young men will do "if they come to 't." It is said that the great German poet and novelist, Goethe, was convinced by these songs that Ophelia had been a sort of younger sister of Marguerite. Neither he nor his successors seem to have known that the chatter and ravings of the insane are always heavily larded with the obscene and the pornographic. Ah, but where and wherefore did she learn these wicked lyrics? For the answer to this profound problem we refer the reader to Mr. Dover Wilson, the discoverer of the momentous and significant fact that when Hamlet urges Ophelia to go to a "nunnery" he wants her to understand that he is using the word as a synonym for a 'house of prostitution."

Much, too, is made of the fact that in *The Hystorie of Hamblet*, Shakspeare's alleged source, Ophelia's counterpart in the plot to discover Hamblet's true state is a "faire and beautifull woman" of easy virtue who is willing to "allure his mind to have his pleasure of her." Of course, Shakspeare might have been sufficiently resourceful to depart from his original, or he might have remembered, though the "scholars" do not, that in the aforesaid original the prince "was informed of the treason" by the lady, because she was "one that from her infancy loved and favoured him, and would have been exceeding sorrowful for his misfortune." The new school of Shakspeare critics, being neither critics nor scholars, read only what suits their purposes.

Then there is the damned fact of the disrespectful and obscene comments addressed by Hamlet to Ophelia as he prepares to lie in her lap and watch how his uncle-father takes *The Murder of Gonzago*. The conversation is indelicate, even by Broadway standards. But it does not prove any guilty relations between the prince

and the lady. Hamlet is obviously insulting. Had she not that very day, only a few hours ago, deliberately played the rôle of a decoy to betray him to his enemies? Ophelia, not conscious of any purposed evil, finds herself in a painful situation in which she has to humor a confirmed madman.

Some of the unthinking are greatly impressed by the fact that the Priest, attempting to pacify the outraged Laertes, points out that though his sister's death was (from a juridico-religious viewpoint) "doubtful," "she is allowed her virgin crants." The use of the word "virgin" is supposed to settle the matter. But it does not really do so. The Priest has said nothing to imply that there was any question about Ophelia's virginity; the question disturbing him was whether the accidental death of an insane person is a voluntary act which bars the deceased from certain religious rites. What he says about her "virgin crants" means only that Ophelia is being accorded all the "rites" (the Folio's substitute for "crants") customary at the burial of an unmarried girl.

The gossipy gravediggers, not understanding the significance of the Crowner's verdict, prate as if there had been some question whether Ophelia's death by drowning had been accidental or voluntary. From this the defamers of Hamlet and Ophelia would infer that Ophelia had committed suicide because she thought she was with child! Strange that Dr. Johnson, Malone, Coleridge, Dowden, Bradley, and thousands of other readers and students of Hamlet never found the remotest hint of this motive in the play. The Queen's description of the mad Ophelia's death as the result of the breaking of an "envious sliver" certainly settles the matter to all common sense. No doubt the defenders of the

absurd notion we are discussing will say that the Queen was lying and will give some esoteric reason for her prevarication. But we cannot pursue this trend of thought,—that way madness lies.

A VALUABLE BOOK

The Yale University Press has just brought out a book which university librarians and Shaksperian scholars will welcome with pleasure. It is a second and revised edition of the well-known Pollard-Bartlett *Census of Shakespeare's Plays in Quarto* (1594-1709) which was originally published in 1916 in a handsome quarto for \$7.50.

Revision of this important bibliographic book has become necessary because of the considerable new material which has come to light since the original publication, because of certain changes in current views regarding some of Shakspeare's plays, because of the migrations of certain quartos since 1916, and so forth. The revision is the work solely of Miss Henrietta C. Bartlett, and is a genuine revision, not merely a reprint or a re-issue. It is worthy of particular mention that the original introduction of some thirty-odd pages has been wholly omitted, for reasons which we can but guess. The book is 10½" x 7½", handsomely printed, cloth bound, gold lettered, thoroughly indexed, and is priced at \$10. The edition is limited to 500 copies. We congratulate Miss Bartlett and the Yale University Press on a thoroughly good job.

ENGLAND'S ELIZA

Harvard University Press has just brought out an important and much needed study, amounting almost to an anthology, of the praises which poets and prose writers of her day so lavishly showered upon Queen Eliza.* The

* *England's Eliza*, by Dr. Elkin C. Wilson, pp. xii + 479, 15 illustrations, cloth

author of the work has arranged his material under the following suggestive and practical headings: Judith and the Broad-sides, Deborah in Progress, Eliza in the Drama, Fayre Eliza, Diana, Laura or Idea, Cynthia, Gloriana and Belphoebe. One of the most valuable features of this work is a short-title list of books and manuscripts dedicated, inscribed or presented to the Queen. That this torrent of praise was not wholly deserved by Elizabeth may safely be taken for granted, but, after all, poets, dramatists, balladists and prose scribblers must eat. It is one of Shakspeare's great claims to our respect that, apart from a purely casual reference to the Queen in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* he cannot be shown ever to have stooped to lavishing praises on a woman who was probably no better and no more idealistic than she needed to be. But that, of course, was none of Dr. Wilson's concern. That he did his best to make out a case for Shakspeare as one of Elizabeth's flatterers goes almost without saying. We have no sympathy whatsoever with his attempt to show that in his delineation of Henry V and in his other historical plays, Shakspeare had the popular Elizabeth in mind. But Dr. Wilson has unquestionably done a good piece of work in his analysis of the eulogia showered upon their Queen by so many of her contemporaries.

TEACHING LITERATURE

(A broadcast over WBNX on Nov. 19th)

In no part of the United States is a High School curriculum or a College curriculum considered complete without several courses in English literature. The teaching of "literature" costs this country many millions of dollars per year. Considering what benefits readers are supposed to derive from literature, this is as it should be. Teachers, critics, and estheticians

school is of more lasting or greater value to a student than the cultivation of a taste and a hunger for good literature. Good literature is capable of teaching the reader much about all sorts of things, times, places and peoples which he would not otherwise be likely to learn; it sharpens the readers' wits; it adds to his vocabulary and stock of ideas; it widens his mental perspective; it enlarges his sympathies; it teaches him to understand himself and his fellows; and it admits him to membership in a circle where he can meet some of the best minds and spirits not only of his own time but of past ages. A great English critic, philosopher and poet, Samuel Coleridge, commenting on his own addiction to poetry, said: "It has soothed my afflictions, multiplied and refined my enjoyments, has endeared solitude, has given me the habit of wishing to discover the good and the beautiful in all that surrounds me." What he said of poetry applies, of course, to all good literature. It is apparent that good creative literature has its value not only for the mind, the intellect, but also for the heart, the emotions, the feelings, and the sentiments. Clearly, anything that is capable of doing all this is of the highest value and deserves the most careful and serious consideration in our schools and colleges. For here is something of permanent value to our students.

Unfortunately, the formation of the habit of reading and the cultivation of a taste for good literature are not likely to result from the literature courses which students now are required to take. Most, if not almost all, teachers find it easier to assign lessons in some manual of English literature which teaches the facts about the "lives" of the authors of our literature. This is teaching literary history, not literature. The work in the classroom consists of lectures and quizzes

on these meagre and desultory facts,—facts which, *per se*, are of very little value, which are forgotten almost as soon as they have been learned, or after the examination is over, facts which anyone can find for himself in any one of hundreds of reference works should he need them.

The classroom teaching of the literary masterpieces usually becomes a quiz on grammatical peculiarities, on the etymology of certain words, or the paraphrase of condensed locutions. The almost invariable result is a thorough loathing for the great masterpieces. Repeatedly have graduate students confided to me that as a result of their college experiences they considered Shakspeare a bore and doubted the sincerity of those who went into raptures about him. Chaucer and Milton are practically never read by our university graduates. The story is told of a boy who came home from school one day and said to his father excitedly: "Dad, please read me *Julius Caesar* today." "What's the hurry, son?" asks Dad. "We're going to take it up in school tomorrow, and I want to enjoy it once more before I get to hate it." It does a student not a particle of good to have heard lectures about *Hamlet* and its problems if he have not fallen under the spell of its magical poetry. The futility of present methods of teaching Shakspeare may be gathered from the fact that one very rarely meets a college graduate or teacher who can say what Shakspeare meant with the words "The quality of mercy is not strain'd" or "One touch of nature makes the whole world kin."

How, then, is literature to be taught? My answer is that every lesson in the literature class should be made an artistic experience. The teacher should interpret the work for his students in such a way as to appeal to their hearts and their imaginations. Historical, etymological and grammatical facts

should be treated as something wholly secondary and incidental, not as primary. The purely intellectual faculties, memory and logic may be left to be developed in the scientific courses. Of course, classroom interpretations should be accompanied with necessary comments and explanations. If literature were taught this way it would tend to breed in the students a keener sympathy for the sufferings of their less fortunate fellows, a better understanding of their neighbors (near and far), greater tolerance for differences of opinion and modes of thought, and a

readier disposition to cooperate with the rest of mankind in making life more tolerable and humane. Lesser benefits would be the revival of the lost art of reading aloud and an improvement in our speaking voices.

Such a radical change in teaching literature necessarily implies a different training for our teachers, a training in good reading and in the art of interpretation. Those who know the mentality and capacities of our teachers know that such training is not impossible.

COMMUNICATION

TWO SHAKSPERE PARALLELS IN STUDLEY'S TRANSLATION OF SENECA'S *AGAMEMNON*

"W. R.'s" prefatory verses to Studley's translation of Seneca's *Agamemnon* contain these lines:

Fore woordes auayleth not a rushe
And good wine needs no tauerne bush.

which will recall the proverb, "Good wine needs no bush," in the Epilog to *As You Like It*. Another Shakspeare parallel occurs in the chorus at the end of the first act of the *Agamemnon*, where we read:

One clod of croked care another bryngeth
in,
One hurlye, buryle done, another doth
begin:

It suggests, of course, "When the hurlyburly's done" in *Macbeth*. A search among publications devoted to Elizabethan proverbs and to the influence of Seneca discloses no reference to either of these passages; editions of Shakspeare, from the Malone *Variorum* to the Cambridge and Arden editions, provide extensive notes on *bush* and *hurlyburly*, but ignore "W. R." and Studley, as do the *NED* and the *Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs*.

Shakspeare's use of the proverb concerning wine cannot be attributed to borrowing from "W. R." The proverb

was common throughout Europe, and no printed source is necessary to explain its presence in *As You Like It*, especially one so obscure as the octavo *Agamemnon* of 1566, in which edition only "W. R.'s" use of the proverb should be of interest to those investigating Elizabethan proverbs.

The other passage has more significance, for a distinct parallelism exists between Studley's line and Shakspeare's, both verbal and in the situations that call them forth. The chorus in which Studley's line appears is filled with reflections on the fickle fate of kings, and these reflections are accompanied by a description of a storm. The conquering Agamemnon is about to arrive home, and his murder by his wife and her lover is foreshadowed. It might be noted also that the weird sisters in *Macbeth* serve as a sort of chorus. In addition, the passage can be added to those that provide cumulative evidence that Shakspeare was indebted to the *Tenne Tragedies* of 1581 rather than to the Latin (if to either), for Shakspeare's line can hardly be derived from the original, which reads:

*Alia ex alia cura fatigat,
Vexatque animos nova tempestas.*

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